Volume 15, No. 3 March 1987

R5685-4
3/26/87
Annual
April 8, 1987
see p. 12

FOCUS

Shaping Post-Apartheid South Africa

Excerpts From a State Department Advisory Committee Report

JCPS Conference Report

The Distorted Lens

Ethnocentrism and U.S. Foreign Policy

Survey Dispels Myth That Blacks Receive But Do Not Give To Charity

Planning for the 1990 Census

Special Effort Being Made to Reduce the Undercount of Blacks

Political TrendLetter

Perspective

ISSN 0740-0195

PRICE $1.50

Obstacles To A Foreign Service Career

The conference report on ethnocentrism in U.S. foreign policy that appears elsewhere in this issue of *Focus* raises a serious issue that was also addressed at a Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) Braintrust meeting last October. The topic of discussion at the braintrust, to which I was invited to speak, was "What are the obstacles that prevent black Americans from fully participating in the formulation and implementation of American foreign policy?" This is a subject I have pondered since 1961 when I began a seven-year stint in the U.S. Department of State. I was recruited for "the Department" (staff were and still are arrogant enough to think there are no other departments) by high-ranking Kennedy administration officials who were determined to "integrate the damn place." I was to be the "integratee," but a senior official in the Office of Protocol had a different idea, publicly proclaiming, "There is no place for a Negro in this office." The chief of protocol, key White House staff, and Senator Hubert Humphrey, for whom I had worked on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, disagreed. So, I was hired after some embarrassment, harassment, and a silly reduction in the paltry salary I had received while working in the Senate. Such are the dues blacks must often pay to enter white bastions of power and prestige.

I remained in the State Department seven years, achieving rapid promotions to bigger, better, and more rewarding jobs. In 1968, when I decided to resign to take a position as assistant vice-president of the University of Chicago, several senior officials literally pleaded with me to remain in the State Department and to accept a senior position in the prestigious Foreign Service Corps.

The CBC invitation last October brought back those 25-year-old memories and I felt the initial hurt and embarrassment all over again. Yet, today, the State Department is perhaps the only federal agency that could attract me into its employ. It's an interesting, exciting, and challenging agency though it is often maligned. With respect to the employment of minority professionals, some criticism is justified.

What are the obstacles that prevent blacks from participating as officers in the State Department?

- Rigid, often elitist, selection criteria sometimes administered by whites who, like the senior official I encountered in the Office of Protocol, see no place for blacks in the State Department.
- Highly specialized work, with a mixture of hazardous and grunt jobs, that must be accepted without dissent and at a discouragingly low pay.
- An image of the State Department as a bastion of white male dominance that discourages many capable blacks from even considering a foreign affairs career. The State Department fishes in the same black talent pool as IBM, General Motors, and Harvard Law School—but with much less success.
- And, finally, I must observe that blacks themselves are particularly at fault. Relatively few of us prepare for careers in foreign affairs and fewer still apply and vigorously pursue their applications for admission into what both black and white international specialists consider to be a relatively small and select group of professionals.

Thus, the obstacles are created both by the foreign affairs agencies, which often do not aggressively pursue black professionals, and by blacks, who often fail to see a challenging career opportunity in foreign affairs. Both obstacles must be torn down. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

FOCUS
Copyright © 1987 Joint Center for Political Studies, Inc.
The monthly newsletter of the **Joint Center for Political Studies,** 1301 Pa. Ave., N.W., Suite 400, Washington, D.C. 20004 (202) 626-3500. The Joint Center for Political Studies is a national, nonprofit, tax-exempt institution that conducts research on public policy issues of special concern to black Americans and promotes informed and effective involvement of blacks in the governmental process. Founded in 1970, the Joint Center provides independent and nonpartisan analyses through research, publication, and outreach programs. Opinions expressed in signed *Focus* articles are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the Joint Center for Political Studies. *Focus* is published monthly. $15.00 per year by JCPS, Inc.

PRESIDENT/Eddie N. Williams
VICE PRESIDENT/Eleanor Farrar
DIRECTOR OF PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT/Kathleen Vander Horst
DIRECTOR OF FINANCE AND ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES/Brenda Watkins Noel
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION RESOURCES/Auriel Pilgrim
DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH/Milton Morris
DIRECTOR OF NATIONAL POLICY INSTITUTE/Russell Owens
PERSONNEL MANAGER/Patricia Roberson

EDITOR, *Focus*/Sherille Ismail
EDITORIAL ASSISTANT/Constance B. Toliver
CONTRIBUTING EDITOR/Linda F. Williams
TRENDLETTER RESEARCHER/Alfred Baltimore

BOARD OF GOVERNORS

Wendell Freeland/Attorney at Law, *Chairman*
William B. Boyd/Johnson Foundation, *Vice Chairman*
Louis E. Martin/Howard University, *Treasurer*
Bishop John Hurst Adams/Congress of National Black Churches
Robert McCormick Adams/Smithsonian Institution
Lucius Jefferson Barker/Washington University
Charles U. Daly/Joyce Foundation and Ireland Fund
Hortense Williams Dixon
Mervyn Dymally/U.S. House of Representatives
Marian Wright Edelman/Children's Defense Fund
Luther Hilton Foster/Foster Associates, Inc.
Jayne Brumley Ikard
Robert C. Maynard/*Oakland Tribune*
Bernard Rapoport/American Income Life Insurance Co.
Eddie N. Williams/Joint Center for Political Studies
James D. Wolfensohn/James D. Wolfensohn, Inc.

Eleanor Farrar/Joint Center for Political Studies, *Secretary to the Board*

Shaping Post-Apartheid South Africa

Excerpts From a State Department Advisory Committee Report

Editor's note: From its first sentence, "The racial aspects of South Africa's existing political system repels most Americans," to its last, "A new policy is now urgently required," the report of the Secretary of State's Advisory Committee makes compelling reading. The 70-page report (including dissenting views) is a concisely stated review of the challenge facing U.S. policy makers, the nature of the apartheid system, and the realistic prospects for achieving a nonracial society in post-apartheid South Africa.

The co-chairmen of the committee are Frank T. Cary, President of IBM, and William T. Coleman, a prominent black lawyer and former Nixon and Ford administration Cabinet member. The other members of this blue-chip panel are Griffin Bell, Owen Bieber, John Dellenbach, Lawrence Eagleburger, Timothy Healy, Vernon Jordan, Helene Kaplan, Roger Smith, Leon Sullivan, and Franklin Thomas.

The committee concluded that the U.S. policy of "constructive engagement" has "failed to achieve its original objectives"; President P. W. Botha's "reforms. . . fall far short of what is necessary"; and the "immediate challenge facing Western nations is to assist South Africa's politically disenfranchised and economically disadvantaged black majority to remove apartheid and end exclusive white rule."

The following excerpt from the committee's report deals with the key factors that will shape a post-apartheid South Africa.

Grounds For Hope

The tragic paradox of apartheid is that its core myth of an embattled people desperately seeking to survive in a hostile world prevents many whites from envisioning a secure future in a nonracial society. Deeply held racial stereotypes are now joined with an exaggerated perception of international communism's role in the struggle against apartheid. For this reason, one of the most important duties of Western policymakers is to present an accurate picture of the forces that will shape South Africa's future. There are causes for concern, but these must be assessed objectively and not allowed to overshadow many equally, if not more, compelling grounds for hope.

A first step to understanding the prospects for a resolution of the problem of apartheid in South Africa is to recognize that there are no historical analogies to developments in other African countries. Elsewhere in Africa, the extension of political rights to blacks came through decolonization. Except in Namibia, that process is now complete. In South Africa, decolonization occurred with the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910. Black leaders in South Africa do not contend that whites are "foreign" or "colonial," or that whites have another, more legitimate home to which they should return. The abolition of apartheid and its replacement by a democratic and nonracial system thus involve the need for agreement among South Africans, not a decision to "withdraw" by any foreign power.

Semi-Industrial Nation

South Africa is a modern, semi-industialized nation, with far more urbanized, educated, and professional blacks than any of the sub-Saharan colonial territories at the time they achieved independence. Blacks already comprise over 40 percent of the professional work force in South Africa. In 1984, more than 40,000 black students were enrolled in university courses in South Africa. Black workers are more organized than their counterparts on the rest of the continent. In 1986, there were 54 registered and 59 unregistered black trade unions with over a million members, including some 600,000 affiliated with the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU).

In contrast with much of the rest of Africa, traditional tribally-based institutions play a relatively minor role in South African society and politics. Even in the "homelands," political and military institutions are increasingly based on modern models. In the urban areas, where roughly 38 percent of South Africa's blacks now reside, there has been a steady proliferation of distinctly modern institutions such as civic associations, trade unions, student organizatons, parents' crisis committees, the Black Lawyers' Association, and the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce (NAFCOC).

Models for Negotiations

A beacon of hope in the darkening South African scene is the several examples of productive negotiations between black and white leaders in localized or functional areas. These include negotiations between the increasingly powerful black trade unions and corporations (especially in the mining industry); talks between black community leaders, white businessmen, and officials on local grievances and consumer boycotts; the recently concluded "Indaba" in Natal

(Cont. on page 4)

aimed at creating a framework for a multiracial provincial legislature incorporating the province of Natal and KwaZulu "homeland"; and the National Education Crisis Committee conference of March 1986, where parents, students, teachers, political figures, and education officials negotiated productively on a range of controversial issues affecting school attendance. These efforts at localized and functional levels are not a substitute for the necessary and inevitable negotiations that must take place at the national level, but they provide valuable experience and establish positive precedents.

One of the most important potential forces for reconciliation across racial lines in a post-apartheid South Africa is religion. "Nowhere else," a leading South African journalist has written, "not even in Poland, is religion such a pervasively important factor in the politics of a nation." Over 90 percent of all whites and an estimated 75 percent of all blacks are church-going Christians. In addition, South Africa has a 125,000-member Jewish community with a strong liberal tradition and 318,000 Muslims who are generally moderate in political orientation. This breadth and depth of religious commitment could provide desperately needed bridges across a growing chasm of fear, hatred, and violence.

Men and women of all faiths, and the Christian majority in particular, have a special responsibility to take the lead in pointing out the fundamental inconsistencies between apartheid and their religious principles, and in establishing a spirit of repentance and reconciliation that will permit a vital society-wide process of healing to begin. Among the many clergymen and theologians who already play such a role are Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Reverend Beyers Naude, Reverend Allan Boesak and Archbishop Dennis Hurley. In this regard, we note that on October 21, 1986, the General Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church withdrew its previous theological support of apartheid.

Political Leadership

The shape of South Africa's future will depend above all else on the qualities and character of the individuals who assume positions of leadership in a post-apartheid South Africa. On this count, the Advisory Committee finds considerable grounds for optimism.

One of the most important is the pluralistic character of black politics in South Africa. Outside of the homelands, there is no modern history of authoritarian black institutions. Before the ANC (African National Congress) was banned, debates within the organization over strategy and tactics were vigorous and open. In exile, it has been remarkably free of the internecine feuding that has afflicted many other exile movements. Although rooted in different intellectual traditions, the Black Consciousness movement and more recently the

(Cont. on page 12)

The Urgent Need for Negotiations

The first and foremost priority of U.S. policy should be to help to facilitate the beginning of "good faith" negotiations between the South African government and representative leaders of the black majority aimed at shaping a nonracial democratic political system. We, therefore, recommend that the United States, in close concert with its major allies, begin a diplomatic effort to achieve this objective.

As we have stressed throughout our report, conflict in South Africa will not end nor will the transition to a post-apartheid democracy begin without negotiations. Negotiations are not merely desirable, but unavoidable. Whether before or after a high toll in human suffering and economic damage has been exacted, black and white South Africans must recognize that military means—whether aimed at revolution or repression—cannot alone resolve the present struggle, and that, in the end, neither black nor white can live and prosper without the other. . .

There is no magic formula that can resolve the conflicts underlying the present crisis. But our wide-ranging discussions with a cross-section of South Africans have led us to conclude that, in order to create the conditions for the initiation of genuine open-ended negotiations with truly representative black leaders, the first steps the South African government must take are to:

- Release Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki; and all other persons imprisioned for their political beliefs. . .;
- Unban the ANC and other political organizations, and establish the right of all South Africans to form political parties, express political opinions, and otherwise participate freely in the political process;
- Terminate the State of Emergency. . .;
- Restore national citizenship to all persons born or naturalized within the internationally recognized territory of South Africa that have been denied citizenship on the basis of race;
- Repeal the Group Areas Act, the Native Lands Act, and the Population Registration Act;
- Create a legal system that will ensure that persons charged with crimes, including those of a political nature, are entitled to guarantees of due process, particularly the right to a fair and speedy trial and the prohibition of detentions without cause;
- Reincorporate the "independent" homelands into the Republic of South Africa.

The most urgent challenge facing the United States and the international community is to convince President P. W. Botha and his supporters that it is in their interests to negotiate now rather than later. . .This will require:

- finding ways to dispel the lack of knowledge that prevents many South African whites from understanding the depths of despair that fuels black unrest, the justice of black demands, and the strong concern of most black leaders for the future welfare of South Africa and all its inhabitants;
- taking steps to provide whites with reasonable assurances that they will not be unjustly victimized by a post-apartheid government;
- undertaking imaginative diplomatic and private efforts to encourage black and white South Africans to discuss and debate alternate political formulas and negotiating processes.

Survey Dispels Myth That Blacks Receive But Do Not Give To Charity

by Emmett D. Carson

Organized charitable giving and voluntarism have existed in the black community for over two hundred years but—despite its importance in the development of the first black banks and black insurance companies—very little is known about the contemporary charitable giving and volunteer behavior of black Americans. To fill this gap, the Joint Center has initiated a 24-month study on "Philanthropy In Black America." This article will examine some preliminary findings from a Joint Center/Gallup national survey on black philanthropy.

Charitable Giving Behavior

The contributions of blacks to various types of charitable organizations in 1985 are shown in the graph on this page. Over two-thirds (68 percent) of all dollars that are contributed by blacks to charity go to the church. Because churches receive such a large percentage of all black charitable dollars, researchers are extremely interested in how these funds are spent and, particularly, how much of it goes to aid the poor. To-date, however, there have been no reliable studies—in part because of the reluctance of church officials to publicly discuss these questions.

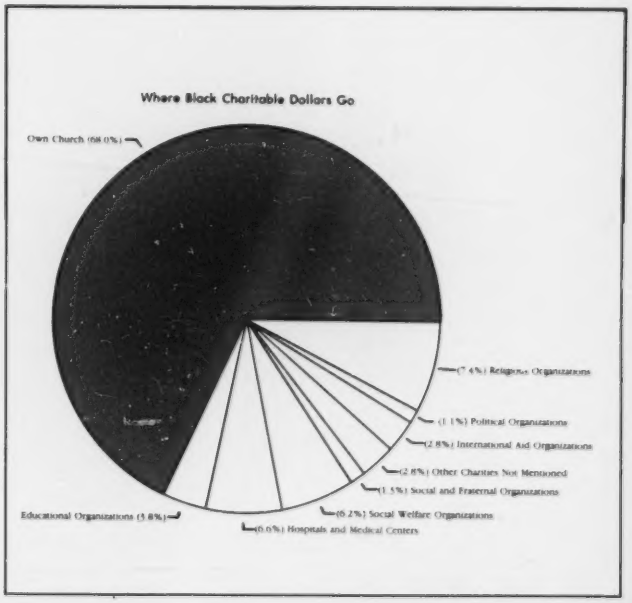
The principal finding is that blacks and whites have similar patterns of giving, when income differences are controlled.

With regard to contributions to charities other than the church, several points are worth noting. Blacks with incomes under $20,000 and blacks with incomes between $30,000 and $34,999 give more on average to educational organizations than whites with similar incomes. Blacks with incomes under $20,000 also give greater amounts to international aid organizations than whites at the same level of income. Whites with incomes under $20,000 give more to the church, political organizations, and social welfare groups than blacks with the same income. In general, when controlling for income, blacks and whites contribute similar amounts to charity.

What is important about these findings is that they document the intense and diverse involvement of blacks in charitable giving. Contrary to widespread beliefs, blacks are as active as whites in supporting charitable organizations. In a forthcoming article in the *Review of Black Political Economy* and in a presentation before the Independent Sector on March 20, 1987, the survey findings will be analyzed in greater detail and, of course, more information will be provided in Focus and other JCPS publications during the life of the study.

Volunteer Activity

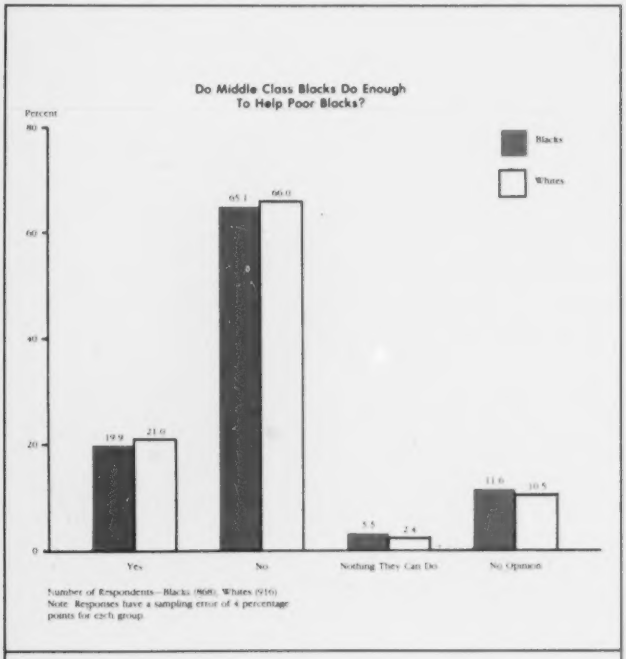
Another issue that has received limited attention in research on the independent sector is the volunteer behavior of black Americans. The findings indicate that blacks and whites at all income levels are equally involved in volunteer activity. About the same percentage of blacks and whites (35.3 percent and 34.6 percent, respectively) volunteered for church activities—by far the largest recipient of volunteer service. Education groups received the next largest share of volunteers, 11.6 percent of blacks and 12.7 percent of whites. Almost half of all respondents (50.0 percent of blacks and 45.1 percent of whites) responded that they did not do any volunteer work during the year.


Where Black Charitable Dollars Go
Own Church (68.0%)
(7.4%) Religious Organizations
(1.1%) Political Organizations
(2.8%) International Aid Organizations
(2.8%) Other Charities Not Mentioned
(1.5%) Social and Fraternal Organizations
(6.2%) Social Welfare Organizations
(6.0%) Hospitals and Medical Centers
Educational Organizations (5.8%)

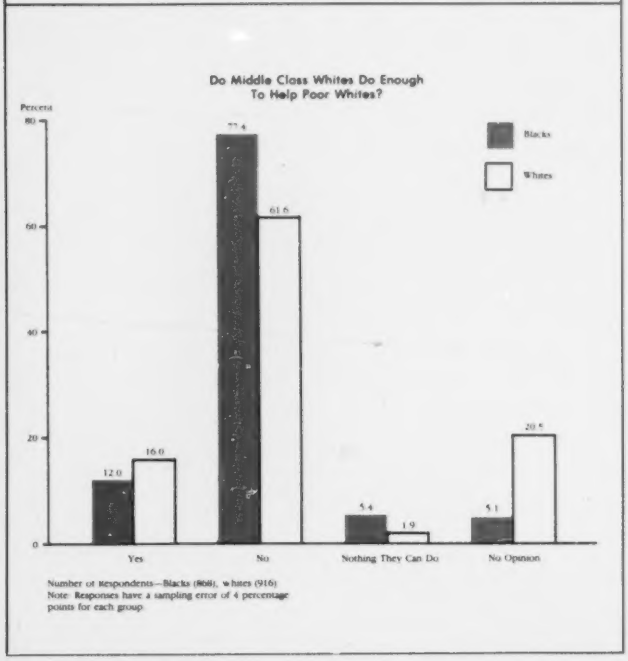
Dr. Carson is a research associate at JCPS.

Attitudes Toward Charitable Giving

In the debates on the role of self-help in the black community, questions are sometimes raised about the extent of the charitable activities of blacks—particularly of the black middle class. The findings of the JCPS/Gallup poll are that black and white respondents shared very similar opinions on the question of whether the middle class did enough for the poor; more than 60 percent of all blacks and whites said they thought the middle class did not do enough to help the poor. (See charts on this page.) The relevance of these results for the debate on self-help is that, in the opinions of both blacks and whites, middle class blacks do no less than middle class whites on behalf of the poor.



Number of Respondents—Blacks (868); Whites (916)
Note: Responses have a sampling error of 4 percentage points for each group.



Number of Respondents—Blacks (868); whites (916)
Note: Responses have a sampling error of 4 percentage points for each group.

The Joint Center/Gallup Poll Survey

In order to obtain information on the contemporary giving and volunteer behavior of blacks, the Joint Center commissioned The Gallup Organization to conduct a national survey using a questionnaire that was developed by the Joint Center. The survey differs from other national surveys of the charitable activities of blacks in two important respects. First, most national studies of charitable activity have samples that are only 10—12 percent black, e.g., about 150 blacks. While these percentages accurately reflect the percentage of blacks in the overall population, the percentages are too small to generate reliable estimates when disaggregated by age, income, and education—factors which are particularly useful in explaining who engages in charitable activity.

To address the problem of sample size, the Joint Center/Gallup survey oversampled blacks—the total of black respondents was 868 persons. Such a large sample allows for extensive analysis of their charitable behavior controlling for various sociodemographic variables. All respondents were surveyed in face-to-face interviews. Face-to-face interviews are less likely to underrepresent low-income blacks than telephone interviews. In addition, 70 percent of the black respondents were interviewed by black interviewers, thereby reducing the risk of biased responses.

The second distinction between previous studies of charitable giving and the Joint Center/Gallup survey is that most studies of charitable activity have focused much of their attention on the monetary donations of the respondents in the sample. The Joint Center/Gallup survey contains extensive questions on voluntarism as well as charitable donations of food, clothing, and shelter.

Conclusion

One of the principal findings from the data presented here is that blacks and whites have similar patterns of charitable giving when controlling for differences in income. This finding challenges the myth that blacks are only recipients of charity. On the contrary, the survey indicates that blacks give considerable financial support to a wide range of charitable organizations. This finding is even more surprising given the differences in black and white attitudes toward what group has the greatest responsibility for helping the poor. The data also indicate that blacks are actively engaged in voluntarism. Again, these findings challenge widely held views that blacks are less active in volunteer activity than whites. ■

March 1987

JCPS

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Inside This Issue

- Few black professionals are being hired to upper-echelon jobs in the U.S. Senate, the Justice Department under President Reagan, and elsewhere.
- Two cities headed by black mayors, Atlanta and New Orleans, will host the national conventions for the Democratic Party and the Republican Party in 1988.
- An ad hoc group of black business persons and political leaders will leave on an exploratory mission to Japan in mid-April to promote better relations, and closer economic ties, between blacks and the Japanese.
- Across the nation, Mayor Harold Washington's primary victory is the first step in his reelection quest in Chicago; presidential hopeful Jesse Jackson goes farming for votes in Iowa; county supervisor Doris Ward is in an uphill battle in the Democratic primary in California's 5th congressional district; and, black political "firsts" are elected in South Carolina, New Mexico, Tennessee, Alabama, Indiana, and Minnesota.

Few Blacks Hold Top Jobs In Senate and Justice

When it comes to hiring blacks, a good record is hard to find. Whether its the U.S. Senate, the Justice Department under President Reagan, the executive staff of New York Governor Mario Cuomo, or, as reported elsewhere in Focus, the State Department, few blacks can be found in policy-making or high status jobs. **The record in the Senate is particularly disappointing because the Democrats now control that chamber in large part because of the victory margin provided by black voters in six to eight key Senate races in 1986** (see *Focus*, November-December 1986). How will these Senate Democrats reward blacks? No doubt there will be favorable legislation on a fair housing bill, South Africa, welfare reform, and other issues, but the top jobs in the "world's most exclusive club" still are, for the most part, outside the reach of black professionals: an informal tally found only 38 blacks in policy-making positions on Senate staffs—slightly more than 1 percent of the total of 2500 to 2800 policy-making staff positions. Seventy-five senators (including three who received over 80 percent of the black vote on November 4, 1986) have no blacks on their staffs. To remedy this deficiency, *JACKIE B. PARKER, a legislative assistant to a Democratic senator from Michigan and president of the Senate Black Legislative Staff Caucus* has circulated a letter which, in the genteel manner of doing business in the Senate, informs the senators that, **"This imbalance may not be the result of either discrimination or a lack of interested and qualified black applicants. It may just be that the problem has been allowed to exist simply because there has not been an active effort to correct it." The letter also notes that "blacks are interested in and capable of doing more than helping to elect candidates, we are also interested in and capable of helping them govern."** . . .On the other side of Capitol Hill, in the U.S. House of Representatives, many more black staffers can be found but there are none in the offices of the top leadership, such as House Speaker JIM WRIGHT (D-Tex.), Majority Leader TOM FOLEY (D-Wash.), and Majority Whip TONY COELHO (D-Calif.), according to congressional staffers, who also told *TL* that this issue was raised at a recent meeting between the top leadership and the Congressional Black Caucus.

The hiring record at the Justice Department is no better, according to RALPH NEAS, executive director of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, who said, "The top echelons [presidential appointees] of the Justice Department constitute one of the most segregated work

forces in the country." Neas points out that Attorney General EDWIN MEESE and Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights BRADFORD REYNOLDS have been the architects of the administration's anti-affirmative action policy. The central tenet of that policy has been that only identifiable victims of intentional discrimination can benefit from affirmative action—a position rejected by the Supreme Court. (A forthcoming article in *Focus* will discuss this issue in more detail.) ...**Neas points out that the department itself provides a good illustration of what could result if the Meese-Reynolds brand of affirmative action becomes the law of the land. Few minorities or women have been selected for federal judgeships or U.S. attorney positions, both of which are screened by the Justice Department.** By November 1986, the Reagan administration had appointed 290 federal judges in six years, of whom 5 (less than 2 percent) were black. Of the 93 U.S. attorneys appointed during this period, only 2 are black. In contrast, the Carter administration appointed a total of 258 federal judges, of whom 37 (14 percent) were black, according to Professor Sheldon Goldman of the University of Massachusetts.

In *New York*, too, the hiring record is disappointing—particularly in light of the debt owed to blacks whose near-unanimous support helped to elect Governor MARIO CUOMO in a very tight race in 1982. A study by the State Assembly Subcommittee on Affirmative Action found 23 blacks among the 185 employees in the Executive Chamber of the Governor in 1985—only 12 percent, compared to the state's 20 percent black population. According to political consultant TONI DARNEY SCHMIEGELOW, Governor Cuomo "has appointed few blacks to top posts in state agencies, none to his inner circle, and has yet to demonstrate a true commitment to affirmative action in his own hiring policies." (ED. NOTE: Former Howard University professor Yvonne Scruggs-Leftwich was appointed by Cuomo to be his first commissioner of Housing and Community Renewal on January 1, 1983. She resigned in July 1985 to become deputy mayor of Philadelphia.) Elsewhere in the state government, the subcommittee report documents that "blacks are just now beginning to move into top management posts in many agencies." **(For a report on how blacks are faring in the Foreign Service, see the conference report on pages 8-11 of *Focus*.)**

Atlanta, New Orleans Will Host 1988 Conventions

Many people seem to think that black mayors govern only in major cities that are the very picture of urban blight—rapidly deteriorating and in the fiscal red. **A strong signal to the contrary comes from those who chose New Orleans, whose mayor is SIDNEY BARTHELEMY, for the Republican Party's national convention and Atlanta, whose mayor is ANDREW YOUNG, for the Democratic Party's national convention.** Though Atlanta and New Orleans are far from free of economic troubles, both are vibrant and well-managed. **Being selected to host the national conventions will be good for the cities' images and, with convention spending estimated at $50 million, for their economies as well.**

To those seeking a political explanation, **the selections of Atlanta and New Orleans signify a courtship of voters in the 11 southern states and the 138 electoral votes they control (which amounts to more than half the 270 needed to capture the White House).** PAUL KIRK, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, for instance, has said "If we are to be a competitive national party, we have to be competitive in the southern part of the country." **Other political observers speculate, however, that there was another reason for the Democrats' choice of Atlanta, whose convention center is slightly too small for the national convention. They assert that Atlanta is also the site of outspoken black leaders opposed to a second JESSE JACKSON presidential bid.** They say black leaders such as Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young will make it more difficult for Jackson to present himself as the principal spokesman for blacks at the convention. He will have to share the spotlight with other prominent blacks, of whom there are many in Atlanta.

Groundwork Laid for Mission To Japan

As noted in last month's *TL*, some black leaders were planning a protest and confrontation strategy as a means of bettering relations between blacks and the Japanese in the wake of Prime Minister YASUHIRO NAKASONE's insulting remarks about blacks. **The news this month is that an *ad hoc* group of black business and political leaders will leave for a six-day exploratory mission to Japan on April 12, 1987, to, in the words of the chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, Congressman MER-**

VYN DYMALLY (D-Calif.), "discuss the access and barriers for blacks in international economic ventures in the United States" and to explore the possibility of social and cultural exchanges.... Planning for the mission has been going on for several months and includes a visit to Japan in January by Congressman Dymally, who reported to his colleagues that he met with the U.S. ambassador to Japan (former Senator MIKE MANSFIELD), Prime Minister Nakasone's chief of staff, and with representatives of private businesses. **Dymally has had numerous meetings across the United States with elected officials and business persons, including a meeting in the Bahamas to discuss strategy and goals. As he told *TL*, "This is a substantive black response, not a protest response."**

Across The Nation

ARIZONA Arizona Governor EVAN MECHAM's repeal of the MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. holiday in that state could be very costly if organizations begin to boycott the state, as some organizations and individuals have already vowed to do. Entertainer STEVIE WONDER announced he will not perform in the state; the National Newspaper Publishers Association (NNPA), which represents publishers of black newspapers and magazines, denounced Mecham's action and cancelled its mid-winter convention in Phoenix; the National Finance Council of the National Democratic Committee also cancelled its winter meeting in Tucson over the King Holiday controversy.

ILLINOIS Incumbent Mayor HAROLD WASHINGTON won the Democratic primary 53 percent to JANE BYRNE's 46 percent. Still there is no clear sailing for Washington. In the general election, as of this writing, he will face Republican nominee DONALD HAIDER, County Assessor THOMAS HYNES, of the Chicago First Party (a party formed only for the mayoral race), and EDWARD VRYDOLYAK, of the Illinois Solidarity Party. If all the white candidates stay in the race, Washington, who won 98 percent of the black vote, 51 percent of the Hispanic vote, and 20 percent of the white vote, would be absolutely guaranteed to win. But if two white candidates drop out of the race or are not taken seriously by the electorate, the scenario would be set for a replay of the tight battle of 1983, when blacks and whites voted along racial lines and Washington barely squeaked into office. Hynes is viewed as Washington's toughest opponent. He is viewed as more independent than Vrydolyak (the standard bearer of the old Daley machine) and Haider (who worked in the Byrne administration). According to political scientist ROBERT STARKS, all the white candidates are more than likely to stay in the race. Each, although disguised under diverse party labels, represents a competing wing of the Democratic party and the real contest is over who will control the party and the remnants of the Daley machine. Moreover, Vrdolyak in particular has so much money that he is unlikely to pull out of the race despite his continued high negative ratings in the polls.

In East St. Louis, incumbent Mayor CARL OFFICER beat back a strong challenge from businessman CLYDE JORDAN. Officer won 54 percent of the vote compared to Jordan's 46 percent. Both Officer and Jordan are black. Officer is expected to easily defeat his Republican opponent, DELORES TURNBOUGH (who is also black) in the April 7th general election.

INDIANA Though TL reported in January that incumbent Mayor RICHARD HATCHER was unopposed for reelection, a challenger has since entered the contest. THOMAS V. BARNES, Calumet Township assessor, officially became a candidate for mayor of Gary on February 4. Barnes's campaign theme is "New Directions." He says it symbolizes his goal of "a new beginning for Gary, free of corruption and isolation." According to Barnes, his top two priorities are the crisis of unemployment and corruption in incumbent Mayor Richard Hatcher's administration. (In recent months federal indictments have been issued to former Hatcher cronies.) Hatcher has also filed his candidacy for re-election for a sixth four-year term. Both Hatcher and Barnes are black.

IOWA JESSE JACKSON went farming for votes in Iowa with amazing success. Going head-to-head with the Super Bowl on Jan. 25, Jackson drew 800 people to a church potluck supper—in an all-white town with a population of 2,500. His feat did not go unnoticed in a state where such front-runners as former Democratic Senator GARY HART of Colorado and Senator Robert Dole of Kansas have had to settle for far smaller audiences. The State Democratic Party chairman said Jackson left many awestruck, and FRANK ALEXANDER, a vice president and lobbyist for the United Auto Workers Union in Iowa, said "this time" the Democrats will have to take Jackson seriously. Throughout Jackson's three-day visit to the state, he drew big crowds and successfully raised funds.

LOUISIANA Alexandria attorney FAYE WILLIAMS, who lost a narrow and bitter contest for the 8th congressional seat last fall, says she is considering a bid for governor this year. Some political observers in the state speculate that if Williams enters the race she will hurt the candidacy of Governor Edwin Edwards who has had wide support from blacks since his first gubernatorial race in 1971. But Williams, who also says she is eyeing another bid for a seat in Congress in 1988, says she "would not get in just to say [she's] running," nor would she run to hamper any candidate's chances.

MICHIGAN Michigan's Legislative Black Caucus has issued a strong statement of disagreement with Gov. James Blanchard's 1987 "State of the State" message. They charge Blanchard's message does not reflect the "State of Blacks" in Michigan. Citing isolated improvements for the black community during the Blanchard years, the Legislative Black Caucus says for the most part black conditions have continued to be characterized by high unemployment, underemployment, and poverty. They point out that blacks overwhelmingly supported Blanchard in 1982 and again in 1986 (when he defeated black Republican William Lucas) in order to reject the Reagan philosophy and ultra-right conservatism in the state, but they say Blanchard's policy initiatives on human investment, on investment in higher education, and on programs to attract and retain firms are not working in cities with large concentrations of blacks such as Detroit, Benton Harbor, Flint, and Pontiac. They call for Blanchard to renew his commitment to the state's cities.

PENNSYLVANIA Given the mounting evidence that the single-member district system benefits black candidates, it is not surprising that black leaders in Pittsburgh (which has no blacks on its city council) have filed a suit charging that the city's at-large system discriminates against blacks. It is surprising, however, that the NAACP branch in Pittsburgh voted 11-10 in favor of maintaining the at-large election system in that city. Blacks compose 30 percent of the total population in the city. No other major city with such a large black population has no blacks on its city council. This year Pittsburgh has six city council seats up for election. Clarence Huff, Mattie Stone, Stanley Lowe and Otis Lyons—all black—are running for council seats.

Allies Desert Ward in S.F. House Race

San Francisco city-county Supervisor DORIS WARD (who is black) has announced her decision to run for the House seat left open by the death of Congresswoman Sala Burton (D). Ward, one of eight Democrats and six Republicans in the race, has an uphill battle on her hands. The front-runner is NANCY PELOSI, former state Democratic chair and chief Democratic fund-raiser in the state. . . . **If political experience was all that counted, Ward ought to be ahead of Pelosi. Ward has held public office for 15 years (8 years on the Community College Board of Governors and 7 years on the Board of Supervisors) while Pelosi has never held public office before.** Although Ward holds a doctorate in education, has been the Board's coordinator on education issues, and has a legislative record of unwavering support for minorities, women, and labor (e.g., she has introduced minority and women business initiatives and aided in the establishment of an economic development corporation), **Pelosi has been endorsed by the local branches of the National Education Association (NEA), several other labor organizations, the National Organization of Women (NOW), the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC), the Latino Democratic Club, and even state Assembly Speaker Willie Brown.** Brown, who is black, has stated that Ward should drop out of the race in order to not harm Pelosi's chances for winning the black vote in the district. Some sources in Washington say Brown and California 8th District Congressman Ron Dellums are making calls soliciting support for Pelosi. Pelosi also received Burton's endorsement. . . . Some observers believe Pelosi, a member of Baltimore's wealthy Pelosi family, is far ahead only because of her wealth and her fund-raising abilities. **Pelosi opened her campaign with $750,000. They say if Pelosi wins, it will prove this district can be bought. . . . Gov. George Deukmejian (R) set April 7th for the primary and June 2nd for the special election to the fill the vacancy in the 5th C.D.** The district includes about three-quarters of the city of San Francisco and is 9 percent black and 12 percent Hispanic. It is a Democratic bastion (64 percent of the voters are registered Democrats) which gave Walter Mondale 65 percent of the vote against Ronald Reagan in 1984. **To win, Ward would obviously have to put together a strong multi-racial, multi-ethnic coalition.**

More Black Political "Firsts"

In **Sumter, South Carolina,** three candidates, businessman WILLIE SINGLETON, Rev. WILLIAM S. RANDOLPH, of the First Baptist Church, and businesswoman HATTIE SCARBOROUGH, became **the first blacks to win the Democratic city council primary under the new single-member district method.** Since they will be unopposed in the general election on April 7th, they will become the first black councilmembers in Sumter since the late 1800s. Blacks make up 39 percent of Sumter's total population. Elsewhere in South Carolina, Chief Deputy Sheriff GEORGE REID became **the first black to be elected sheriff in McCormick.** Reid captured 1,228 votes in the Democratic party runoff in the majority black county and defeated a white opponent by 108 votes. Also in South Carolina, Attorney HARRY BROWN became the **first black elected probate judge** when he defeated a 40-year white incumbent in the Jasper County primary and then went on to win the general election in this majority black county. . . . MARIA CALDWELL, a Republican, became the **first black woman elected to a judgeship in Albuquerque, New Mexico.** Judge Caldwell now represents Division 6 on the Metropolitan Court. Before running for elective office, she was the assistant district attorney for Bernadillo County, an appointed position. . . . In Tennessee, businessman ROLAND DYKES became the **first black alderman in Newport.** Dykes received the second highest number of votes among 15 candidates on the ballot for alderman. . . . In Alabama, Selma lawyer NATHANIEL WALKER became **the first black to sit on the district court bench here since Reconstruction.** Walker, who won election last fall, will serve as Dallas County district judge. . . . In Indiana, DIANNE WILDER-TOMLINSON became **Marshall County's first black elected official when she won the Marshall County attorney's race in November.** Less than 1 percent of the county's voters are black. . . . In Minnesota, E. CRAIG MORRIS became **the first black mayor any Minnesota city has ever had when he was elected mayor of Lakeland.** *Morris is the only black adult living in Lakeland!* He is a strategic planner for Northwestern Bell telephone company.

Planning for the 1990 Census

Special Effort Being Made To Reduce the Undercount of Blacks

by Sherille Ismail

In a briefing for the staff of the Joint Center, officials of the U.S. Census Bureau identified several steps they are taking to reduce the undercount of the black population in the 1990 census and to provide the decennial census data in a timely and cost-effective manner.

As reported previously in *Focus* (see, e.g., May 1973, June 1979), the decennial census-taking has enormous implications for minorities in terms of the allocation of federal funds and the reapportionment of legislative districts—to name two of the most significant uses of the census data. For instance, 100 percent of the federal program funds for education ($3.9 billion), employment/job training ($1.9 billion), and housing ($8.2 billion), and 88 percent of the funds for community development ($22.6 billion) were allocated on the basis of formulas which used the population data in the 1980 census (source: *Government Information Quarterly*, Volume 2, No. 4, 1985). Consequently, states and local jurisdictions whose populations were undercounted would have received less than their due.

Adjusting the Undercount

The undercount of blacks has been revealed in studies which compared birth and death statistics to arrive at a number for total population. If this number exceeds the census count, the bureau knows it has undercounted a given population. In the 1980 census, for instance, the undercount was estimated at 5 percent for blacks and less than 1 percent for the rest of the population—an improvement from prior years when the black undercount was more than 7 percent.

Though public officials and others have sought (and even sued for) adjustments to correct the undercount, the Census Bureau has so far refused to do so—on the grounds that the census must be an actual count and cannot be based on estimates. For the 1990 census, however, a publicly stated goal of the bureau has been to "decrease the differential between the undercount rates for whites and for nonwhites."

How can this be done? The first stage of this effort will be to improve the accuracy of the census count which is scheduled for April 1990. This means repeating (and refining) the techniques used in the 1980 census, when the black undercount was cut to 5 percent.

Some of the major techniques are purchasing lists of dwelling units from commercial vendors, using the Postal Service to verify occupancy data, and actively encouraging the participation of local governments in reviewing block-by-block counts of dwelling units and of population during the census.

The bureau also plans a "dress rehearsal census" in March 1988 to test its enumeration techniques in four sites, including St. Louis which has a large black population. Another plan is to broadcast public service announcements aimed at increasing public awareness of the benefits accruing to the community when the census is full and accurate.

In addition to these efforts at bettering the census count, the bureau is considering "post-enumeration surveys" in certain targeted black communities which are likely to have been undercounted. Another option being studied—which was recommended by the National Academy of Sciences in 1979 (see *Focus*, June 1979)—is to make postcensal adjustments of the population count for purposes of distributing federal funds but not for purposes of apportionment of population. Final decisions on these and other adjustment options will be made in May of this year. ■

Key Planning Dates

Every 10 years since 1790 the U.S. Bureau of the Census has taken a statistical "portrait of the nation's populace, in rich but anonymous detail," to quote John Keane, the current director. By law the bureau is required to complete its count of the U.S. population and its distribution by state, for purposes of apportionment, by December 31, 1990. An additional breakdown, for redistricting purposes, must be completed by April 1, 1991, and must include racial characteristics of sub-state geographical units (e.g., cities, tracts, blocks). Other relevant dates are April 1, 1987, for notifying Congress of the subjects to be covered in the census questionnaire; and, April 1, 1988, for the exact wording of the questions.

Mr. Ismail is editor of *Focus*.

On April 17, 23, and 30, 1986, the Joint Center for Political Studies (JCPS) sponsored a series of round table discussions on "Ethnocentrism in U.S. Foreign Policy." The discussions were held at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington, D.C., and brought together a diverse group of experts, academicians, elected officials, foreign service professionals, business people, members of the press, and American and foreign ambassadors. (A complete list of the round table participants appears on page 11 of this report.) Bernard Johns, a State Department career foreign service officer detailed to JCPS as a Pearson Fellow, organized the round table series. The conference report was written by Susan Kalish, based on a draft by Ian McNett, both JCPS Consultants.

The Distorted Lens

Ethnocentrism and U.S. Foreign Policy

Ethnocentrism, JCPS President Eddie N. Williams told the conference in his opening address, is one underlying cause of our persistent foreign policy failures in the Middle East, Africa, Latin America, and Asia. Seen through the distorted lens of ethnocentrism, only countries "like us"—that is, Western, industrialized democracies—are of much importance. More often than we realize, Williams warned, an ethnocentric bias infects our foreign policy—distorting our perceptions of Third World countries, our analyses of events, and our assessments of the players. Ethnocentrism, he concluded, "can trap us in fruitless policy approaches or tempt us to take actions that backfire."

Following the opening address on April 17, 1986, a selected number of the participants made brief, formal presentations at each of the three sessions. Each presentation led to a free-wheeling discussion by the round table participants. This conference report is a summary of the proceedings of the three sessions.

I. Towards A Definition of Ethnocentrism

Ethnocentrism may be defined as the belief in the superiority of one's own ethnic group, the perception that one's own country lies at the center of the world. William Banner, professor of philosophy emeritus at Howard University, pointed out that ethnocentrism is a caricature of a tendency that is basic to human nature and which is generally constructive—pride in one's own ethnic group or national identity. Such pride plays a positive role in national liberation struggles and ethnic consciousness movements, emphasized Charles Thomas, professor of urban studies and planning at the University of California, San Diego, who presented a paper on the political psychology of ethnocentrism at the April 23 round table. But, he cautioned, ethnocentrism is also the breeding ground for nazism, white supremacy, or other forms of racism.

"The bad, if you will, of ethnocentrism," said Bernard Johns, a career foreign service officer and Pearson Fellow at JCPS, "is when the normative values of a given society enter into the process of analysis. If we project our values to interpret a foreign, a different group, we invariably misinterpret that group's behavior. This occurs because we fail to appreciate that group's norms for political behavior as different from our own. It is as if everything different has to be bad."

The "official mind" that conditioned our foreign policy from the first Indian wars through the end of the nineteenth century was often "overtly ethnocentric and racist," said Elliott Skinner, professor of anthropology at Columbia University, who presented a paper on the history of ethnocentrism in U.S. foreign policy at the April 17 round table. From the birth of our nation, ethnocentrism colored U.S. policies toward Latin America, the Pacific Islands, the Far East, and Africa—fostering such now-discredited slogans as "manifest destiny" and "the yellow peril."

Throughout American history, Skinner said, U.S. policy towards nonwhite peoples in the less developed world exhibited a surface altruism and an underlying contempt, with an admixture of commercial greed. This attitude often served as a justification for the exercise of naked power. For example, in the 1890s, before he became president, Teddy Roosevelt pushed for the annexation of Hawaii, arguing that failure to do so would be a crime against the United States and against "white civilization." In Roosevelt's view, America should acquire "for the white race the best portions of the world's surface."

II. Ethnocentrism in American Institutions

Although overtly racist rationales and rhetoric—such as the "white man's burden"—have been generally muted in American foreign policy debates in recent years, the participants agreed that ethnocentrism persists in the foreign service, the media, and the educational system.

The Foreign Service

Traditionally, the U.S. foreign service has been staffed from a small circle of eastern, mostly Ivy League

elites, who tend to think alike and share the same blind spots, according to several round table participants. A sharp critic of this tradition was Congressman George Crockett (D-Mich.), now chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs, who said, "The State Department . . . projects a lily-white image to the world . . . and it relies on a small, increasingly out-of-touch group to formulate policies." Crockett charged that "what we see today is a foreign policy practically bereft of input from minority communities in the United States. We see almost no Hispanics, women, or blacks in positions of power at the State Department, the White House, or other decision-making centers." (See the box on this page for Congressman Crockett's more detailed remarks on blacks in the foreign service.)

The consequences of having a "lily-white" foreign service were addressed by Aurelia Brazeal, then deputy director of Japanese affairs in the State Department and now economic minister designate of the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo, who said, "Most [white] Americans are not comfortable dealing with nonwhite peoples. They lack the tools to cope when they are in a minority situation themselves. Black Americans and other minorities do have those tools, because we cope in this country as a minority."

Several participants, however, warned that increasing minority representation in foreign service agencies, while desirable, would not necessarily cure ethnocentrism. Remarked Brian Weinstein, professor of political science at Howard University, "I don't see any data that would support the general idea that merely making the foreign service reflect American society would automatically develop that sensitivity and that knowledge that would make our foreign policy better." Furthermore, to influence foreign policy requires a sophisticated understanding of the foreign policy making process—something minorities, due to their historic exclusion from these processes, may lack, commented Ambassador William B. Jones, a retired foreign service officer who was recently appointed staff director of Representative Crockett's subcommittee.

Ambassador George S. Vest, director general of the U.S. Foreign Service, commented that his recruitment efforts since 1984 have not been as productive as he wished. Minority young people seem drawn to other opportunities that "make it difficult to recruit them in the numbers we want. We set targets. We don't make them." Stephen Low, director of the Foreign Service Institute, added that despite measures to alter foreign service officer examination and acceptance procedures to avoid unfair exclusion of minorities, "stimulating interest" remains difficult.

The Media

The press and electronic media drew mixed reviews from round table participants. Some thought the media

(Cont. on page 10)

The Foreign Service: Backsliding on Blacks?

Black influence and presence in the foreign policy establishment increased significantly during the Carter administration, said Representative George W. Crockett, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs. Key appointments included: former Congressman Andrew Young as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations; Terry Todman as the first black assistant secretary of state for a geographic bureau (Latin American Affairs); Donald McHenry as deputy chief of the U.S. Mission to the United Nations, and later as chief; and John Reinhardt as director of the U.S. Information Agency (columnist Carl Rowan was the first black director, during the Johnson administration). In addition, several blacks were appointed as ambassadors to important European countries, including David Bowland to East Germany, O. Rudolph Aggrey to Rumania, and Terry Todman to Spain.

"Besides making these very visible and significant high-level appointments, the Carter administration sought to increase minority representation in the career foreign service and to provide greater opportunities for blacks to come into the White House and the State Department to present their views on foreign affairs issues," Crockett said.

Crockett cited serious "backsliding" during the Reagan administration, however. In 1986, just 254, or 6 percent of the total of 4,101 officers in the U.S. Foreign Service were black. There are only 12 blacks at senior levels in the State Department out of a total of over 650 positions. None of these are black women. [Note: In the fall of 1986, since Crockett's remarks, Aurelia Brazeal was promoted to the rank of senior counselor and is now the economic minister designate of the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo.] There are only 25 blacks among the 729 individuals eligible to compete for the senior foreign service, said Crockett.

Only one black person holds a senior policy-making position in the Department of State—Assistant Secretary of State Allan Keys (International Organization Affairs). There are only two deputy assistant secretaries of state—Clarence Hodges in the Equal Employment Opportunities office, and William Robertson, head of the Africa Bureau. Only two blacks work at the next lower level as office directors—Howard Walker at the Bureau of West African Affairs and Clarence Pegues, executive director at the Bureau of Political and Military Affairs.

According to Crockett, the situation in American embassies overseas is "equally disturbing, at both the upper and lower echelons. We are witnessing a steady retreat from the commitment of previous administrations to open up positions and opportunities to minorities and to women." Out of the 150 ambassadorial positions, black Americans now have only 6 positions, down from a high of 16 during the Carter years. Only one of these is posted outside of Africa—Ambassador to Denmark Terry Todman. (Note: since Crockett's remarks, President Reagan has named Edward J. Perkins, a State Department veteran, as the first black U.S. ambassador to South Africa.)

(Cont. from page 9)

were doing an adequate job in informing the public on what is going on overseas. Others felt the media were prisoners of the same ethnocentric thinking that affects policy makers. Areas of the world are often ignored until they become hot spots. Then, in the crisis atmosphere, the media focuses on ongoing events, catching up belatedly, if at all, on the forces that created and shaped the crisis. Gary Sick noted how Iran was ignored by the media, as well as by two administrations, until it was too late. As this is being written, another Iran crisis has strained public credibility in another administration. As a nation we still do not understand Iran very well at all.

Unquestionably, some reporters make extraordinary efforts to find out what is going on in the countries they cover. They go to unusual, even dangerous, lengths to get both sides of the picture and to provide the background that is needed to make an intelligent assessment of a situation. Editors, editorial writers, and network news executives, however, often do not have the same experience or opportunity. Every reporter's story necessarily is filtered through the minds of several other journalists before it appears in print or on camera. Further, reporters often are assigned to stories or beats on the basis of accomplishment in another area. They may be ill-prepared for covering a culture different from their own, while grappling with a new language. Some of the larger newspapers rely on foreign nationals and foreign wire services for coverage. Still, much of the media is ill-prepared to inform its readers or audience of crucial background and historical information that would shed light on crises and ongoing events in the world generally, the Third World particularly. Beyond major metropolitan dailies which pride themselves on being national newspapers, precious little background is available to the American citizen. The history and effects of U.S. imperialism in the Philippines, China, and Latin America are little understood. The reason why some Americans do not understand the antipathy of some Third World peoples to the United States is that they simply have not had access to the facts.

Newspapers, too, might consider establishing fellowships, years abroad, and other opportunities for current and future journalists to deepen their understanding of other cultures. They should also consider hiring, as some do, Americans who already have had experience abroad—Peace Corps volunteers, international business representatives, diplomats, AID officers, and others who can demonstrate a genuine understanding of the nations and regions they would be covering. Fellowships and sabbaticals for mid-career journalists would allow them to enrich their comprehension of the areas they cover, and that of their readers as well. Most metropolitan newspapers could draw on nearby universities for area and regional experts who could offer seminars for editors and editorial writers who shape news and editorial policies.

Educational Institutions

An unconscious ethnocentrism permeates our education system, many round table participants noted. From grade school through college, students are routinely exposed to Western civilization but only rarely to other traditions and cultures, pointed out William Bate, American studies specialist in the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, United States Information Agency. Relatively few graduate students pursue specialized studies in geography, non-European languages, or area studies. As a result, even to most educated Americans, many areas of the Third World are just hazy blurs on the world map.

III. Ethnocentrism and Recent Foreign Policy

Round table participants discerned ethnocentric elements in recent policies toward several unfolding events in the Third World. This country's relations with Iran and South Africa and our response to terrorism came in for special criticism.

Historically, ethnocentrism has tended to intensify in times of national stress, pointed out Ambassador Howard K. Walker, who served with the State Department for 21 years. Even today politicians may manipulate feelings of ethnicity, he said, to rouse public support behind foreign actions that are shortsighted and ultimately self-destructive.

Ambassador David Dunlop Newsom, associate dean and director of the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy at Georgetown University, pointed out that today, when the world is shrinking and American influence seems to be waning, we are particularly vulnerable to irrational fear of political power passing to people "not within the Euro-centric ken of American citizens."

What's an Ayatollah?

Crises in the Third World have often caught the public and policy makers unaware of conditions in the trouble spot. Such ignorance was poignantly apparent during the Islamic revolution and hostage crisis in Iran, said Gary Sick, who gave the luncheon presentation at the April 23 round table. As the principal White House aide on Iran in the Carter administration, Sick was a first-hand observer of events in Iran and has described the crisis in a recent book, *All Fall Down: America's Tragic Encounter with Iran.*

The morning the crisis broke, Sick recalled, the director of the Central Intelligence Agency had to brief the vice president on what an Ayatolla was. It was obvious, he said, that the director himself had just learned the meaning of the term. Despite Iran's 2,500 year history and a heavy U.S. policy investment, Sick said, "For the most part, at least until these crises started, Iran was a blank spot on Americans' conceptual

map"—elected officials, the foreign service, and the general public alike.

Seeing South Africa Clearly

Henry Bienen, James S. McDonnell Distinguished University Professor at Princeton University, challenged many commonly held assumptions during his April 30 presentation on U.S. policy towards South Africa. Bienen said that—"off-the-cuff" remarks by political leaders to the contrary—there has not been much substantive change in the U.S. South African policies of Presidents Nixon, Carter, and Reagan. Each of these administrations, he said, have based their policies on the mistaken conviction that the United States needs South Africa as an ally in a region where the influence of the Soviet Union has been expanding.

Several participants, including Ambassador Donald F. McHenry, now University Research Professor of Diplomacy and International Relations at Georgetown University, disagreed with Bienen on the changes in U.S. policy under the different presidents. McHenry, who succeeded Andrew Young as permanent representative to the United Nations under President Carter, cited important "differences of emphasis" between the different administrations.

Goler T. Butcher, professor of law at Howard University and former assistant administrator for Africa, U.S. AID, said that kinship politics seriously distorts our view of events in South Africa. For example, we speak of wanting to prevent violence in South Africa, but "in the kith and kin view of U.S. policy makers towards South Africa, violence tends to be equated with the killing of whites." Butcher and other participants criticized the Reagan administration for dealing almost exclusively with the white minority regime while seriously neglecting contacts among black South Africans.

Avoiding the "Terror Trap"

Our own ethnocentrism increases the difficulties of remaining rational when terrorist incidents occur, many participants felt. Sick spoke of terrorism as "part of the human condition," a political tool that is "rediscovered in every generation as needed." However, policy makers and the media have overreacted to terrorism, he said. However outrageous these incidents, "to make [terrorism] into. . .the number one threat to U.S. security is simply wrong," he declared. The real danger, according to Sick, is that the United States may fall into the "terror trap"—allow itself to be manipulated into taking foreign policy actions that are hasty or wrong.

IV. Reducing Ethnocentrism

To reduce the distorting effects of ethnocentrism in foreign policy making requires educational changes, a more sensitive and informed media, and better representation of minorities among those who make foreign policy. Greater efforts must also be made to encourage minority young people to pursue foreign policy careers, to enable minority academicians to study foreign affairs in universities and think tanks, and to involve minority public officials more deeply and systematically in the formulation of foreign policy. These goals increase in urgency as it becomes more and more important for the United States to have better relations with Third World peoples and nations. The challenge for us in the United States has never been greater nor the penalties for misunderstanding more severe. ■

Round Table Participants

Millard Arnold, Associates International
Professor Curtis Banks, Howard University
Professor William Banner, Howard University
Dr. William Bate, U.S.I.A.
Professor Henry Bienen, Princeton University
Aurelia Brazeal, U.S. State Department
Carol Brookins, World Perspective, Inc.
Dr. Lynn Burbridge, JCPS
Professor Goler T. Butcher, Howard University
Dr. Broadus N. Butler, Dillard University (ret.)
Ambassador Walter C. Carrington, Howard University
Professor Babatola Cole, Howard University
The Honorable George W. Crockett, Jr., U.S. House of Representatives
Professor William Cross, Cornell University
Dr. Susan Schaeffer Davis, University of Pennsylvania
Ambassador Horace G. Dawson, Jr., U.S.I.A.
Dr. Winnie D. Emoungu, U.S.I.A.
Susan Erickson, U.S. Department of Agriculture
Professor John B. Eubanks, Howard University
Dr. Eleanor Farrar, JCPS
Dr. Patricia Fisher, Howard University
Ambassador Richard K. Fox, Jr., Meridian House, International
Dr. Allan Goodman, Georgetown University
Gillian Gunn, Georgetown University
Ambassador Clarence Hodges, U.S. State Department
Jay Jacobson, U.S. State Department
Bernard Johns, Pearson Fellow, JCPS
Ambassador William B. Jones, U.S. Foreign Service (ret.)
Colbert I. King, Riggs National Bank
Dr. Robert Kohls, Meridian House, International
Stephen Lande, Manchester Associates, Ltd.
Ambassador Stephen Low, Foreign Service Institute
Ambassador Donald F. McHenry, Georgetown University
Ambassador Francis J. McNeill, U.S. State Department
Stephen Menick, Freelance Journalist
Professor Gwendolyn Mikell, Georgetown University
Dr. Milton Morris, JCPS
Ambassador David Dunlop Newsom, Georgetown University
Dr. Edwin J. Nichols, N.I.H.
Ambassador Ronald Palmer
Julia-Ellen C. Robinson, International Marketing Consultant
Leonard Robinson, African Development Foundation
Stephen S. Rosenfeld, The Washington Post
Professor Faraidoon Shams, Howard University
Dr. Paul Shapiro, U.S.I.A.
Dr. Gary G. Sick, Ford Foundation
Professor Elliott Skinner, Columbia University
Professor Charles W. Thomas II, University of California, San Diego
Ambassador George S. Vest, U.S. Foreign Service
Ambassador Howard K. Walker, U.S. State Department
Professor Brian Weinstein, Howard University
Eddie N. Williams, JCPS
Francille Wilson, Author

Advisory Committee Report

(Cont. from page 4)

United Democratic Front (UDF) have demonstrated a remarkable ability to bring together under one umbrella groups and individuals representing a variety of different interests and perspectives. At all levels of organization, and especially within the trade union movement, there is a deeply ingrained commitment to the principle that leaders must be accountable to their constituents.

Another distinctive feature of the South African scene is that, from the 1950s to the present, local community leaders have played a decisive role in determining the agenda of opposition politics. The UDF and COSATU are examples of institutions in which unity has been built from the bottom up on the basis of shared interests and objectives rather than imposed from the top down on the basis of the preconceived ideas of national leaders.

The vitality of the creative debate that is currently under way inside the black political community is another asset as we look beyond apartheid. The intellectual contributions of a steadily expanding number of black educators, journalists, lawyers, church leaders, union leaders, and businessmen attest to the breadth of resources that will be available to a nonracial society. In a society free of race restrictions, their mixture with white leadership will further enrich such resources.

The Role of Whites

Despite their long and bitter struggle against apartheid, black leaders retain a considerable reservoir of goodwill toward whites. The spectre of white "boat people" forced to flee the grip of a vicious black dictatorship is not consonant with the reality of generations of efforts by pragmatic black leaders to persuade whites to move toward the creation of a nonracial order. From the ANC (with its Freedom Charter declaration that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white") to the exponents of Black Consciousness (whose martyred leader Steve Biko in 1976 declared of a future South Africa: "White participation is imperative"), black leaders have consistently acknowledged that whites have an important role to play in a post-apartheid society. ■

Update on JCPS 10th Annual Dinner

William E. Brock, secretary of the U.S. Department of Labor, will be the featured speaker at this year's dinner, to be held on April 8, 1987, at the Sheraton Washington Hotel. Jewel Jackson McCabe, president of the Coalition of 100 Black Women, will be the mistress of ceremonies. Call (202) 626-3555 for further information.

FOCUS

Joint Center for Political Studies

1301 Pa. Ave., N.W., Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20004
(202) 626-3500

NOTICE TO READERS: Please notify FOCUS of any change of address or title. YOU MUST ATTACH THE MAILING LABEL FROM THE BACK COVER when writing about service or change of address. No change can be made without this information. Allow 6 weeks for change of address to take effect. Thank you.

NON-PROFIT
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
PERMIT No. 6958
Washington, D.C.

ADDRESS
CORRECTION
REQUESTED

Postmaster: Form 3547 requested

26063
SRI
ACQUISITIONS EDITOR
CONGRESSIONAL INFO SVC, INC.
4520 EAST-WEST HWY.
BETHESDA, MD 20814

Volume 15, No. 4 April 1987

R5685-4
5/4/87

FOCUS

The monthly newsletter of the Joint Center for Political Studies

Update on the Job Status of Blacks

Despite Gains of 1982-86, Gap with Whites Is Still Wide

Welfare to Work

Congress Moves in New Direction, But Legislation Faces Obstacles

New York's Fading Black Political Power

Leading Political Figures Discuss Reasons for Decline

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Perspective

ISSN 0740-0195

PRICE $1.50

Framework II: Only "An Adroit Mix of Strategies" Can Succeed

In the few weeks since the Joint Center released *Policy Framework II: Black Initiative and Governmental Responsibility*, an essay by the Committee on Policy for Racial Justice, we have been pleased by the favorable reaction the report has received in the media and in the black community. One nationally reknowned political commentator, David Broder of the *Washington Post*, wrote that the report "can be read with profit not only by the dozen white males who dominate the likely presidential field, but by others on both sides of the color line that still runs through American society." Veteran civil-rights leader Dorothy Height says it "should be required reading for every leader, policy-maker, educator, office-holder, and citizen in the nation." Many other favorable comments have been received.

While most writers and readers captured the essence of this compelling essay, an article in the *Washington Times* clearly did not. Its headline read: "Liberals Adopt Conservative Idea." Baloney! When did black self-help become the conservatives' idea? Helping ourselves has been a survival issue since we first set foot on these shores. As the report states,

> Action by government in addressing social and economic needs has been important, but it has been both recent and modest. Blacks made the transition from a largely impoverished mass of former slaves to a strong, vibrant community largely through the work of civil rights, cultural, fraternal, religious, social, professional, and service organizations in the black community. *Thus, black Americans have an unusually rich history of self-initiated contributions to our own well-being.*

So, what is new and worthwhile about this report? First, by reaffirming that family, education, and individual enterprise are central values in the black community, we can draw more explicitly and openly upon these values—and, move beyond the polarization that was beginning to develop between various groups in the black community on the question of "values." Second, by noting that some segments of the black community have been raised to middle class status, we identify a potential, valuable resource that may have been underutilized in an era when the government was the most effective instrument for black progress. As *Framework II* states, "Organizations at all levels, particularly locally based community organizations, need to address more vigorously the appropriate role and implementation of collaboration across class lines between blacks who enjoy some of the advantages of the society and those who do not."

Third, the report identifies actions that can only be taken by the government—such as restoring "the economy to include more jobs of moderate skill and decent pay that created the white middle class," and repairing "the deteriorated infrastructure of the cities."

What is new, in sum, is the balance of individual, community, and governmental responsibility. As John Hope Franklin and Eleanor Holmes Norton state in their introduction to the essay,

> "We believe that the one-sided emphases and single-minded approaches to black progress we often hear today are simplistic and utterly inadequate. Instead . . . we undertake to acknowledge and then work with the inescapable reality that blacks, whose progress has been artifically delayed by societal racism and official discrimination, must now find their way to equality in a far more troubled and rapidly changing context than other Americans faced. Given the depth of the disadvantage that still besets the black community, only an adroit mix of strategies that complement one another can have any chance of success."

Copies of *Black Initiative and Governmental Responsibility* can be purchased for $6.95 from the Joint Center. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

FOCUS

Copyright © 1987 Joint Center for Political Studies, Inc. The monthly newsletter of the **Joint Center for Political Studies,** 1301 Pa. Ave., N.W., Suite 400, Washington, D.C. 20004 (202) 626-3500. The Joint Center for Political Studies is a national, nonprofit, tax-exempt institution that conducts research on public policy issues of special concern to black Americans and promotes informed and effective involvement of blacks in the governmental process. Founded in 1970, the Joint Center provides independent and nonpartisan analyses through research, publication, and outreach programs. Opinions expressed in signed *Focus* articles are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the Joint Center for Political Studies. *Focus* is published monthly. $15.00 per year by JCPS, Inc.

PRESIDENT/Eddie N. Williams
VICE PRESIDENT/Eleanor Farrar
DIRECTOR OF PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT/Kathleen Vander Horst
DIRECTOR OF FINANCE AND ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES/Brenda Watkins Noel
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION RESOURCES/Auriel Pilgrim
DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH/Milton Morris
DIRECTOR OF NATIONAL POLICY INSTITUTE/Russell Owens
PERSONNEL MANAGER/Patricia Roberson

EDITOR, *Focus*/Sherille Ismail
EDITORIAL ASSISTANT/Constance B. Toliver
CONTRIBUTING EDITOR/Linda F. Williams
TRENDLETTER RESEARCHER/Alfred Baltimore

BOARD OF GOVERNORS

Wendell Freeland/Attorney at Law, *Chairman*
William B. Boyd/Johnson Foundation, *Vice Chairman*
Louis E. Martin/Howard University, *Treasurer*
Bishop John Hurst Adams/Congress of National Black Churches
Robert McCormick Adams/Smithsonian Institution
Lucius Jefferson Barker/Washington University
Charles U. Daly/Joyce Foundation and Ireland Fund
Hortense Williams Dixon
Mervyn Dymally/U.S. House of Representatives
Marian Wright Edelman/Children's Defense Fund
Luther Hilton Foster/Foster Associates, Inc.
Jayne Brumley Ikard
Robert C. Maynard/*Oakland Tribune*
Bernard Rapoport/American Income Life Insurance Co.
Eddie N. Williams/Joint Center for Political Studies
James D. Wolfensohn/James D. Wolfensohn, Inc.

Eleanor Farrar/Joint Center for Political Studies, *Secretary to the Board*

New York's Fading Black Political Power

Leading Political Figures Discuss Reasons for Decline

by Toni Darney Schmiegelow

From the early 1950s through the late 1970s, if black leaders around the United States wanted to inspire blacks to do more politically, they had only to point to New York. In those years, New Yorkers could boast of electing an impressive list of political leaders (Adam Clayton Powell, Charles Rangel, Shirley Chisholm, Basil Paterson, Percy Sutton, and many more[1]) to national and local office. Beginning with the election of Hulan Jack as Manhattan borough president in 1953, New York politics offered a bright promise of steadily increasing political strength and influence.

Today, however, the early promise has failed to blossom. New York no longer is on the leading edge of black politics. For instance, though New York had the highest number of black elected officials in 1968, 12 other states elected more blacks to public office in 1985. Though New York has a 20 percent black population, only two blacks (and none from New York's major cities) are mayors and no blacks have been elected to statewide office. Michigan, Illinois, and California, three states with smaller black populations, have better records. The highest ranking black politician in New York City is Manhattan Borough President David Dinkins—who holds the position Hulan Jack held 34 years ago. In comparison to the promise of the past and the performance of blacks in other states, New York's once-shiny star has lost its glow. As a recent *New York Times* article said, "blacks here have made fewer strides politically than their counterparts in other big cities."

To explore the reasons for the decline of black politics in New York, Darney and Associates, the consulting firm I head, conducted interviews with eight prominent black elected officials as well as a renowned black political scientist: Congressmen Charles B. Rangel and Floyd Flake; Deputy Assembly Speaker Arthur O. Eve; Assemblyman and New York County Democratic Chairman Herman "Denny" Farrell; State Senator David A. Paterson; Manhattan Borough President David N. Dinkins; City Councilman Hilton Clark; a respected black politician who did not want his name used; and Professor Charles V. Hamilton, Wallace A. Sayre Professor of Government at Columbia University. The following is an edited summary of the interviews.

What happened between Hulan Jack's election (as Manhattan Borough president) in 1953 and David Dinkins' election (to the same office) in 1985? Why have there been no black mayors of major cities in New York State, and no blacks elected to statewide office?

Most of the interviewees pointed to demographics and the low voter registration figures as the major reasons why no blacks have been elected to statewide office or to city halls. "It is just sheer arithmetic," Professor Hamilton said. "The numbers aren't there. There simply are not enough black voters." Though this view is widely accepted, it should be noted that the 1.7 million blacks in New York City are 22.7 percent of its voting age population (VAP)—a significant voting bloc which compares favorably to the 352,000 blacks (15.9 percent of the VAP) in Los Angeles, which has elected Tom Bradley as mayor for four terms.

Another explanation, surprising and controversial, was volunteered by three of New York's leading politicians, Congressman Rangel, Assemblyman Farrell, and borough President Dinkins: the breakup of Tammany Hall. Although some studies have shown that political machines have hindered black political development, Farrell took another view: "The mechanics of the reform movement broke apart the machine, which had helped blacks." Manhattan Borough President Dinkins cited the example of Manhattan: four blacks who became borough president—Hulan Jack, Edward Dudley (1961-1965), Constance Baker Motley (1965-1966), and Percy Sutton (1967-1977)—ran for election as incumbents after having been appointed by Tammany Hall to fill an unexpired term. The first black to run as a non-incumbent, Dinkins, lost in his first two attempts (1977 and 1981) but won in 1985.

Congressman Rangel even speculated that a black would have been elected mayor because the machine had to balance the ticket to maintain its power. This view was supported by Professor Hamilton, the political scientist, who said, "I don't think there's any question that [Tammany Hall] helped. Ticket balancing, maintaining ethnic balances, that is what the machine is all about. You can look at Chicago. Harold Washington is not anti-machine. He is a creature of the machine. He

Ms. Schmiegelow is president of Darney & Associates, a black-owned firm whose political consulting services are targeted to black and Hispanic constituencies. She served as director of Congressional Relations at the Department of Housing and Urban Development in the Carter administration.

[1] Including state legislators George Miller, Frank Boyland, Vander Beatty, David Dinkins (now borough president), Thomas Fortune, and Arthur Eve; Councilmen Sam Wright, Fred Samuels, and Enoch Williams; Borough Presidents Hulan Jack, Edward Dudley, and Constance Baker Motley; State Supreme Court Judges William Thompson, Fritz Alexander, and Bruce Wright; and the New York State Black and Puerto Rican Legislative Caucus.

(Continued on p. 4)

New York's Black Political Power

(Continued from p. 3)

is merely trying to replace it with his machine. The machine *per se* is the traditional method for bringing in outside groups and that certainly includes the black community."

From our research, we have found that in many other states, e.g., California, there are "stages of development" which young people interested in the political process go through. For example, they go from working as campaign volunteers to working on senate, assembly, or congressional staffs, and eventually they seek elected office themselves.

> ***"The mechanics of the reform movement broke apart the machine, which had helped blacks."***
>
> ***—Assemblyman Farrell***

Do you agree that these "stages of development" are not present in New York?

Three respondents (Senator Paterson, Borough President Dinkins, and Councilman Clark) said that their own careers had progressed through the stages we had identified. This was particularly true for Paterson and Clark, whose fathers, Basil Paterson and Kenneth B. Clark, respectively, are still influential in New York and national politics. The respondents agreed that New York has no system for nurturing up-and-coming young politicians. The political jobs which are available compare unfavorably with jobs in the private sector and with political posts in other states, including California where assembly staff members earn $30,000 a year. By comparison, the average *total* staff budget for a freshman member of the New York State Assembly is only $30,000.

Geographic splits are always talked about in New York (e.g., upstate/downstate, Manhattan/ Brooklyn). Are there geographic splits in the black political community?

Most of the interviewees agreed that there are geographical splits, but they also emphasized that the splits are not unique to the black community. As Deputy Speaker Eve said, "New York politicians see their clubs, their areas as islands unto themselves. They will not cross county lines to support people outside of their own areas." Congressman Flake (who represents a Queens district) added an historical perspective: Manhattan politicians have tried to dominate black politics, and the current geographic splits are merely a reaction to their attempts to control.

Professor Hamilton said the political make-up of New York City, which creates five "mini-mayors" in the borough presidents, tends to "side-track candidates who were thinking about running for mayor [of New York City]." As a result, people have been forced to make political trade-offs for control of their own boroughs and have not created city-wide coalitions.

During the late 1960s, a fight over decentralization of schools occurred in New York City. What affect do you think the fight had on black political development?

Most respondents felt it had a positive affect on the growth of black political power, but some noted it splintered the black-Jewish coalition (which has remained apart since the late sixties, except in a few individual instances). As Borough President Dinkins said, the school decentralization issue "spawned many political figures. It taught us organization, Robert's Rules of Order, and how to give speeches. From there it was just a step to becoming involved in the political process." Professor Hamilton and others noted that the fight was damaging because it destroyed the black-Jewish coalition, which one respondent said was "mandatory" for a black candidate to win. One winning coalition was put together by Manhattan Borough President Dinkins, who was supported by 90 percent of blacks, 79 percent of Hispanics, 68 percent of Asians, and 50 percent of whites (primarily Jews). Mayor Tom Bradley of Los Angeles and Mayor Harold Washington of Chicago won with similar coalitions, though the distribution of support was different.

During the "War on Poverty," New York City received more anti-poverty funds than any other city. What impact did this have on black political development?

All the interviewees, except Professor Hamilton and Councilman Clark, felt the anti-poverty programs had a positive effect. Clark said the programs "had the effect of de-politicizing the black community" by creating a "welfare mentality" of looking for a hand-out instead of organizing for substantive change that would benefit the entire black community. Professor Hamilton said: "A lot of attention which could have been turned to a mayoral campaign, or to capturing a seat, was centered on capturing 'soft-dollar' grants."

Concluding Remarks

Though a March 16, 1987, column by *New York Times* reporter Sam Roberts refers to "fragmentation" among New York's black politicians as one reason for their lack of progress, our interviews produced no evidence of this. It would appear that several factors, most prominently the lack of effective coalition-building (especially between blacks and Jews), have contributed to the turnaround in the fortunes of New York blacks. As more and more New Yorkers (black and white) begin to discuss these issues, as they have been doing in recent months, the prospects for coalition-building will grow and so, too, will the opportunities for blacks to recapture a leadership position in the front lines of black politics. ■

JCPS

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Inside This Issue

- **With Jesse Jackson's new presidential campaign strategy of de-emphasizing race, he faces the same problem as the other Democratic presidential contenders: how to ensure a high black turnout and win white votes at the same time.**
- **In a likely rematch between Mayor Wilson Goode and former Mayor Frank Rizzo, Philadelphia's black voters seem ready to set aside their criticisms of the incumbent and vote to reelect him.**
- **In the Baltimore mayoral race, a poor showing in the early polls led to the withdrawal of the sole white candidate—leaving Baltimoreans to choose between two blacks for the first time in its history.**
- **Across the nation, conservative political economist, Glenn Loury will take the No.2 position in the Department of Education; D.C. Statehood legislation got a boost from House Speaker Jim Wright; and veteran black Mayors Richard Arrington of Birmingham and Richard Hatcher of Gary face challenges to their reelection.**
- **Election update: In the April 7 general election, incumbent Mayor Harold Washington of Chicago was re-elected to a second term.**

Jesse Jackson's Gamble: De-emphasizing Race Issues

As more and more pieces of JESSE JACKSON's presidential campaign strategy are revealed to the public, **the ironic conclusion is that Jackson might end up sharing a common problem with other Democratic hopefuls: how to produce a heavy black voter turnout and win the white vote at the same time.** Sources close to Jackson report that this time around he does not intend to highlight race-specific issues, e.g., the second primary, delegate-selection, or affirmative action, as he did in 1984. **Like the other announced or potential Democratic contenders, Jackson has also agreed to heed Democratic National Committee Chairman PAUL KIRK's appeal to "love thy fellow Democrat" and to obey his four commandments:** 1) do not criticize personal characteristics of candidates; 2) do not invoke the "special interests" label against Democratic constituency groups—especially organized labor; 3) do not ever criticize the party or squabble over convention rules; and 4) do pledge to strongly support the eventual Democratic nominee...Instead of a race-specific campaign, **Jackson is stressing issues of economic populism which increase his appeal to farmers and low-income whites as well as to blacks.** In searching for common ground between blacks and whites, Jackson's decision to focus on economic issues seems to be a smart one: **a JCPS/Gallup poll in August 1986 found that blacks and whites agreed that "unemployment" and "the high cost of living" were two of the top three issues on the national agenda.** (Drug abuse was the third.)...However, by not campaigning on race-specific issues, is Jackson in danger of losing his support among blacks? Recent survey data, though it is not conclusive on this point, offers little encouragement for Jackson. For example, **while Jackson was the choice of 52 percent of blacks in twelve southern states in a March 1987 poll** (conducted by the Roper Organization for the *Atlanta Constitution and Journal*), **he had been the choice of 75 percent of southern blacks in an August 1986 JCPS/Gallup poll.** The *Atlanta Constitution and Journal* poll also showed that only 7 percent of white southerners and 30 percent of Hispanic southerners picked Jackson as their first choice...Overall, Jackson is running second to Gary Hart in the South and across the nation. A March 5th ABC/*Washington Post* poll showed Hart as the choice of 46 percent of respondents, followed by Jackson as the choice of 14 percent. Among southerners, the *Atlanta Constitution/Atlanta Journal* poll showed 35 percent favored Hart and 21 percent favored Jackson.

Meanwhile, **rumors persist that Mayor ANDREW YOUNG (D-Atlanta) is willing to participate in a "favorite son" movement to encourage black mayors of big cities to run for president on their home turf.** This would, of course, drain votes from Jackson and may prevent him from becoming the only or chief broker for black interests in next year's presidential contest. **Young has already announced he will not support Jackson in the primaries. Other black leaders on record as not supporting Jackson include Alabama Democratic Conference Chairman JOE REED, Birmingham Mayor RICHARD ARRINGTON, Charlotte Mayor HARVEY GANTT, and Little Rock Mayor LOTTIE SHACKLEFORD. Most of this group did not support Jackson in 1984, but their constituencies did**...Though his strategy of de-emphasizing race may be sound, Jackson still faces huge obstacles in his attempt to attract whites to his camp—while not losing the support of the black voters who made his earlier campaign an historic event.

Rematch With Rizzo: Is Incumbent Goode Enough To Win?

The goodwill and high hopes that marked WILSON GOODE's historic 1983 election as Philadelphia's first black mayor have disappeared in the dark clouds of the MOVE bombing and the recent incidents of racial violence in the city. Perhaps sensing that these developments make the incumbent vulnerable, **former Mayor FRANK RIZZO is back in the running. In 1983, Rizzo and Goode fought a tough battle in the Democratic primary, which Goode won with 54 percent of the vote. This year Rizzo is running as a Republican—and appealing to white Democrats to crossover to the GOP to support him in the GOP primary and in the general election.** (The deadline for changing party affiliation is April 20, 1987.) This will increase Goode's share of Democratic voters in the primary because Democrats who crossover would not have supported him in any case. Yet, Rizzo's challenge is made stronger now than it was in 1983 because, in the general election, he can now count on the votes of the crossover Democrats who supported him in 1983 and also the Republicans who could not vote for him in the Democratic primary at that time...**Before he faces Rizzo, Goode must defeat his primary opponent, a liberal former Democratic district attorney named EDWARD RENDELL.** Already sparks are flying in this contest. One charge against Rendell, made public by former mayoral candidate CHARLES BOWSER, a black attorney, is that Rendell has reneged on a promise to stay out of the mayoral race in exchange for black support in Rendell's failed quest for the governorship last year. (The winner was Democrat BOB CASEY.) **In a widely circulated newsletter article, Bowser called Rendell a "liar" and castigated his black supporters as "Uncle Toms."**...With Rizzo pulling white Democrats out of the party, blacks will number close to 50 percent of the registered Democrats—up from 42 percent in 1983. If the turnout is as high as it has been in past elections (over 90 percent), Goode should win the primary. Two questions still must be answered, however. **First, are blacks willing to vote for Goode after the MOVE debacle? The answer appears to be "yes."** For one thing, Goode's primary opponent, Rendell, is not free of the MOVE taint: he was the district attorney at the time of the bombing and did nothing to distance himself from the Goode administration. But, more importantly, though Goode is still judged harshly for his MOVE-related actions (e.g., he "bungled" in his appointment of the police commissioner who approved the bombing, he "waffled" at the hearings of the independent panel of inquiry), the fallout seems to have been contained. **According to Dr. SANDRA FEATHERMAN, a Temple University political scientist, blacks' antagonism toward Goode is fading and black voters will unify behind him to prevent the defeat of Philadelphia's first black mayor (or the re-election of Rizzo, who has been accused by blacks of racism)...The second question is whether whites will support Goode.** In 1983, about 18 percent of white voters actually supported Goode, though about 25-30 percent told pollsters they did so. Some white support probably came from "anti-Rizzo" liberals. This time, says one political analyst, the liberal whites seem likely to vote for Rendell though Goode may get about the same percentage of white support as he did the last time...In the Republican primary, Rizzo, faces a weak opponent, JOHN EGAN, who was also the Republican nominee in the general election in 1983 when he lost to Goode...**If the mayoral race becomes a rematch between Goode and Rizzo, a large, unified black vote is likely to be the key to a Goode victory. Black Philadelphians may be up to the challenge: as Dr. Featherman, the political scientist, says, "they are among the most advanced and sophisticated black electorate in the country: registration is almost 100 percent, turnout is almost equal to white turnout, they split tickets effectively, and they know who their friends and enemies are."**...In a final twist, Charles Bowser, an unsuccessful black mayoral candidate in

1975 and 1979, has pledged to run as an independent in the general election if Goode is defeated in the primary. With blacks numbering 39 percent of the electorate, Bowser could run a credible race against the two white candidates, Rizzo and Rendell. . . **The primaries are set for May 19, 1987.**

Schmoke Takes Big, Early Lead in Baltimore

A WMAR-TV poll in early March carried the bad news to mayoral candidate ROBERT EMBRY that only 6 percent of the sampled voters would support his candidacy. Heeding the message, Embry quit the race a few days later—**thereby ensuring that Baltimoreans would create history in September by electing the city's first black mayor, either the incumbent (appointed) mayor, CLARENCE (DU) BURNS, or his opponent, State's Attorney KURT SCHMOKE** (see the February *TL* for more on the candidates' backgrounds). At this early stage, Schmoke holds a towering 53 percent to 25 percent lead over Burns, with 22 percent undecided. Schmoke, whose enthusiasm for the city ("I believe in Baltimore") may rival that of departed Mayor (and current Governor) Donald Schaefer, had more support than Burns among blacks (65 percent to 16 percent), whites (40 percent to 35 percent), liberals (62 percent to 21 percent), moderates (46 percent to 28 percent), and conservatives (53 percent to 25 percent). **If Burns was looking for a silver lining to this message, there was none: the poll also showed that an endorsement by Burns' mentor, Governor Schaefer, would have "no effect on the decision of 78 percent of the sampled voters.** Burns' only hope is his highly praised political organization. Whether this is enough seems doubtful but Burns, who got his nick-name (Du) for his "can-do" spirit ("it's Du-able," is a phrase he often uses), no doubt will continue to believe that "it ain't over, till it's over." . . **Both candidates have declared education to be a top priority.** . . For Baltimore's black population, which has been tantalized since 1971 by the prospect of a black mayor, the good news runneth over: **Embry's withdrawal removes the necessity of choosing between a white ally and two black candidates; Schmoke's ascendancy has been eagerly anticipated; and the choice between two blacks is a reversal of the conventional wisdom that "most assuredly, there must be only one serious black candidate."** . . . The primary will be held on September 15, 1987.

Glenn Loury To Join Reagan's Education Department

GLENN LOURY, a conservative black political economist, has beeen nominated as undersecretary of education, according to administration sources. Loury has been a vocal advocate of self-help among blacks. His views are said to complement those of Education Secretary WILLIAM J. BENNETT. **Loury opposes preferential treatment for minorities, arguing that disadvantaged blacks in America must help themselves rather than rely on government assistance to improve their economic and social situation.** While he does not deny the need for government programs, he stresses the importance of moral leadership among minorities and criticizes the black middle class and civil rights leadership for not providing it. In a 1985 *Washington Post* op-ed article, **Loury said: "The great barrier to progress for blacks today is not an 'enemy without' that denies opportunity to blacks because of racism, but an 'enemy within' that keeps our young people from taking advantage of the opportunities available to all Americans."** Currently a Harvard professor, Loury is being supported by conservatives such as Leslie Lenkowsky, president of the Washington-based Institute of Educational Affairs, who has called his appointment "magnificent." **The NAACP, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, and other civil rights groups have said they will vigorously oppose Loury's confirmation in the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee hearings.**

ELECTION UPDATE: In a contest marred by bitter fighting among his three white opponents, Mayor Harold Washington easily won re-election to a second four-year term with 53 percent of the vote, according to early unofficial returns. Washington received about 99 percent of the black vote and 20 percent of the white vote. About 1.1 million, or 72 percent, of Chicago's 1.6 million registered voters cast ballots—less than the 80 percent who voted in 1983.

Across the Nation

ALABAMA. In mid-February, Birmingham Mayor RICHARD ARRINGTON, Alabama Democratic Conference executive director JOE REED, Atlanta City Councilman HOSEA WILLIAMS, and potential presidential contender Rev. JESSE JACKSON **led a march in Montgomery of more than 2,500 protesters, mostly black, to protest the decline in the number of blacks holding key posts—primarily legislative committee chairmanships**—in the new state government elected last November. According to one Montgomery reporter, the protest has not produced any changes. He said "They flew in some people and Jesse showed up. But that was it. There've been no changes in committee assignments."

In other news, **Birmingham Mayor Richard Arrington is up for reelection on October 13, with a runoff, if needed, three weeks later. Arrington is finishing his 8th year as the city's first black mayor.** Arrington, says a newspaper reporter, "would be a strong favorite no matter who emerged to oppose him, though it's hard to imagine him getting away without some white running against him." His most likely opponent is two-term council member Betty Collins. A conservative, Ms. Collins is from Birmingham's white, middle-class, eastern area. Arrington is a good bet for reelection because, first, the city's population has grown increasingly black—pushing 60 percent—and the mayor has a strong organization, the New South Coalition, that can deliver the black vote to him or to candidates he supports. Second, Arrington has made inroads into the white community. He gets a significant vote from Forest Park, "where yuppie types have moved in in the last 20 years and rebuilt old houses," says the reporter. "They're not the type to respond to race-baiting."

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. Statehood for the District of Columbia may be the surprise issue in the 100th Congress, if predictions by Speaker JIM WRIGHT and Majority Leader TOM FOLEY are to be believed. **Both have predicted that the House of Representatives will pass H.R.51, introduced by Congressman WALTER FAUNTROY (D), the non-voting delegate from the District of Columbia.** Prospects in the Senate are less certain, though Fauntroy claims that the Democrats' 55-45 majority in the Senate has created "a fleeting window of opportunity" for his bill. **The new legislation became necessary when the D.C. Voting Rights Amendment (enacted in 1978) expired in 1985 after failing to be ratified by three-fourths of the states, as required by the Constitution.**

FLORIDA. A potential candidate to oppose the re-election of XAVIER SUAREZ, Miami's first Cuban-American mayor, is ARTHUR TEELE, Jr. **Teele is a black attorney with ties to the Reagan administration.** His assets are that he is wealthy, that he might appeal to black voters in Miami's tripartite political factionalism (black, Cuban, Anglo), and that he is "well-connected downtown." (Teele is a member of the influential law firm of Sparber, Shevin, Shapo, & Heilbronner and is president of the National Business League, which was founded by Booker T. Washington.) **Teele, however, could be hurt among blacks by his Republicanism—especially if he runs as a Reaganite instead of as a moderate. He would also have trouble pulling Cuban votes from Suarez.** In addition, Anglos—non-Hispanic whites—aren't especially antagonistic to Suarez. The election is November 1, with a runoff on November 10. **Miami is 17 percent black.**

INDIANA. Inflammatory remarks by Michigan Congressman John Conyers have lit up the Gary mayoral race between incumbent Mayor Richard Hatcher and Calumet Township Assessor Thomas Barnes. **While attending a $1,000 per-couple fund-raiser for Hatcher in early March, Conyers said, "The corporate structure always sends someone to test [Hatcher], but he has been victorious five times and I'm sure he will do it a sixth time. Where do those little opportunists spring up?"** Needless to say, Barnes and his supporters were far from delighted by Conyers' remark. State Rep. Earline Rogers blasted national black leaders "who parade into [Gary] every four years to endorse Richard Hatcher," and requested them to stop making negative comments about challengers they know nothing about. Barnes, in a letter to Conyers explaining why he was running, **requested an apology and asked, "who are you and what do you know about Gary?"**

MISSISSIPPI. Although blacks comprise 35 percent of Mississippi's population, **only 1 percent of the state's 100 state court trial judges are black.** Blacks in the state have long argued that the reason for such gross underrepresentation was the system of at-large county elections. On April 1, 1987, a federal district judge agreed with their claims. **In the first lawsuit challenging at-large judicial elections under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law** (aided by several other legal groups and black lawyers) **won two consolidated cases challenging at-large elections in Hines (Jackson) and Yazoo (Yazoo City) counties.** Lawsuits challenging at-large judicial elections are pending in Louisiana and North Carolina.

NEW JERSEY. As former Newark Mayor KENNETH GIBSON put to rest rumors he would throw his hat in the ring for the 10th district congressional seat held by PETER RODINO, **Newark councilman RALPH GRANT declared his candidacy for the seat in early March.** Grant was first elected to the Newark council in 1978 and was reelected in 1982 and 1986. **Also expected to run is Newark Councilman DONALD PAYNE, who was supported by Jesse Jackson in 1986 in his bid for the 10th district seat.** The 77-year-old Rodino said he would retire after completing his current term.

LAWRENCE M. LAWSON, formerly the first black mayor of the township of Neptune, was sworn-in in January to a seven year appointment to the New Jersey Superior Court. **Lawson is the first black superior court justice in Monmouth County's history.**

SOUTH CAROLINA. LESSIE PRICE became the first woman on the Aiken City Council. Price, a senior supervisor in the personnel department of DuPont, has been involved in politics nearly 15 years. During that time, she campaigned for former Governor RICHARD RILEY, former Lieutenant Governor NANCY STEVENSON, and for former city councilmember WILLAR HIGHTOWER. Price followed the route most black women take to elective office, i.e., working first in the campaigns of others. According to the Center for the Study of American Women, black women elected officials have more political experience when elected than do black men, white women, and white men.

Welfare to Work

Congress Moves in New Direction, But Legislation Faces Obstacles

by Katherine McFate

The desire to move welfare recipients off the welfare rolls and into the labor market is at the heart of the various "welfare reform" bills that are making their debut in the U.S. House of Representatives and in the Senate. After years of debating the merits of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), liberals and conservatives finally agree that government assistance to poor families should involve more than simply support payments.

Research and demonstration projects carried out in the past decade have generated a great deal of information that bears on this issue. From this, one can extrapolate the necessary (but perhaps not sufficient) elements of an effective welfare-to-work program.

The Key Elements

FOCUS ON LONG-TERM WELFARE RECIPIENTS. Analyses by Professors David Ellwood and Mary Jo Bane of Harvard University show that the majority of families that receive AFDC are on the welfare rolls for a total of less than 4 years. Many of these families leave the welfare rolls in less than 2 years without any special help. However, about a quarter of all AFDC recipients will spend 10 years or more on AFDC—and it is these families that receive the bulk of poverty program expenditures (AFDC, food stamps, and Medicaid). *A program aimed at reducing the size of the welfare rolls and the cost of AFDC must target long-term welfare recipients, not the individuals who will leave the system in a relatively short time even if they do not receive any special attention.*

REMEDIAL EDUCATION. Improving basic skills must be a central feature of any welfare-to-work program for the long-term AFDC recipient. Studies show that over 60 percent of all AFDC recipients are high school dropouts. Half of the AFDC recipients required to register for the Work Incentive Program in 1983 had math and reading skills

(Continued on p. 8)

The author is a research associate at JCPS. Russell Owens, director of the National Policy Institute at JCPS, contributed to the analysis of the legislative proposals.

Legislative Prospects

Though welfare reform got off to a fast start in the 100th Congress, the finish line is not in sight. The House and Senate are on two entirely different tracks with no obvious points of convergence.

The House bill, sponsored by Congressman Harold Ford (D-Tenn.) and known as the Family Support Plan, is a comprehensive welfare reform package that includes all the items discussed in the main text of this article as well as new child support legislation. The price tag will be substantially more than the cost of existing programs.

The Senate bill, introduced by Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) and known as Jobs for Employable Dependent Individuals (JEDI), seeks to create new financial incentives for the administrators of local Jobs Training Partnership Act (JTPA) and Work Incentive (WIN) programs, but basically leaves the current AFDC system intact.

The White House-supported plan, "GReater Opportunities through Work" (GROW), provides no added funds for remedial education or job training. Under GROW, states that do not force all AFDC recipients to participate in some kind of job search, training, or workfare activity would be penalized.

The welfare-to-work legislative debate is shaping up to be a struggle among Democrats in the House, and also between those in the House and their counterparts in the Senate. Ford's bill must make its way through four House committees before it reaches the floor. Kennedy's bill will have to wait for the Finance Committee to finish mark-up of trade and catastrophic health insurance legislation before a job training/welfare reform bill will be considered.

In the meantime, legislators and observers are waiting for Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) to unveil his own welfare reform package in the Senate and for Congressman Gus Hawkins to introduce his own version of a job training bill in the House. Each new bill will probably increase exponentially the amount of time required to reach a compromise within each chamber and in conference committees.

In fact, the finish line for welfare reform legislation may be getting further and further away.

Update on the Job Status of Blacks

Despite Gains of 1982-86, Gap with Whites Is Still Wide

by Margaret C. Simms

In December 1986, as the U.S. economy entered the fifth year of the current recovery, the unemployment rate for blacks was 14.5 percent—down from 15.1 percent in 1985 and 19.5 percent in 1983. Over the entire recovery (which began after the 1981-82 recession) blacks had a 19 percent increase in employment, with a net increase of 1.8 million jobs held by black workers for the four-year period. Black employment increased by 330,000 in 1986 alone. Job growth was much slower for whites, who only increased their employment by 10 percent over this four-year period (for a gain of 8.9 million jobs).

The recent gains have allowed blacks to recover only some of the ground that they had lost in the earlier recession, during which their unemployment rate rose from 13.0 percent in January 1980 to 20.9 percent in December 1982. The unemployment rate for 1986 was still over twice the 6.0 percent rate for white workers. Moreover, the labor force participation rate (see box for explanation) of black workers still lags behind that of white workers, so overall joblessness among blacks is even higher, relative to whites, than the unemployment rates imply. In addition, blacks are more likely to have part-time jobs for economic reasons and tend to hold lower status and lower paying jobs. Black families have fewer wage earners than white families, which further exacerbates the differences in earnings.

Part-time Jobs

Having a job does not mean having a full-time job. Some people choose to work part-time because they are combining market work with some other activity such as school or work in the home. This is more likely to be the case for youth and for women. However, not everyone works part-time by choice. Some do so involuntarily, because they are unable to find full-time work or because their regular (full-time) employer has reduced the work hours for economic reasons.

Looking at figures on part-time work, we find that black males were somewhat more likely to be working part-time than white males. However, the percentage of black women and black teens in part-time work was lower than that of their white counterparts. If we look only at involuntary part-time work, all black groups were more likely than their white counterparts to be working part-time. For adult men and for all teens, blacks were almost twice as likely to be working part-time for economic reasons than whites. Among women, blacks were about 1.5 times as likely to be working part-time involuntarily.

Longer Unemployment

An economist once said that six percent unemployment would not be so bad, if it meant that everyone was unemployed only six percent of the time. Unfortunately, that is not the case. Not only are unemployment rates higher among blacks than among whites, black workers are unemployed for longer periods of time. Of those who were unemployed in December 1986, about one-fourth of the whites and one-third of the blacks had been unemployed for more than 15

Dr. Simms is deputy director of research at JCPS.

Employment-to-Population Ratios, 1982-86

	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Whites	58.2	60.0	60.8	61.3	61.8
Men	**72.0**	**73.7**	**74.4**	**74.4**	**74.6**
Women	48.2	49.6	50.4	51.4	52.3
Male Teens	**45.9**	**49.3**	**50.2**	**49.2**	**49.2**
Female Teens	43.7	46.3	46.9	47.2	48.3
Blacks	48.8	50.3	53.5	53.9	54.4
Men	**60.0**	**63.3**	**64.8**	**64.6**	**65.7**
Women	47.3	47.3	51.1	51.8	51.7
Male Teens	**19.5**	**21.3**	**24.7**	**27.0**	**26.6**
Female Teens	19.2	17.1	22.3	22.1	24.0

Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Employment and Earnings*, February 1987.

weeks. The longest periods of unemployment were for black men, who averaged nearly 22 weeks of unemployment.

Family Status

Being unemployed is also not so bad if you are in a family where others have jobs. Here again blacks are disadvantaged. Seven percent of all black families had no employed member in the household and 10 percent had at least one member who was in the labor force but did not have a job. Among white families, the rates were 2.2 percent and 5.9 percent, respectively.

The problems were more severe for female-headed families than for married-couple families. Three-quarters of husbands in both racial groups were in the labor force at the end of 1986. While black husbands had higher unemployment rates than white husbands (7.2 percent versus 3.7 percent), they were slightly more likely than the whites to be in families where someone else was working—which helps to stabilize family income. On the other hand, black women who headed households had lower labor force participation rates than white women who headed households in 1986. Furthermore, their unemployment rates were twice as high and they were less likely to have another member of the household working. These low employment rates partially explain the low absolute and relative economic status of families headed by black women.

Types of Jobs

The economic condition of families is not just a function of whether family members are employed or not. It is also a function of the types of jobs individual family members hold and what those jobs pay. As the table on this page shows, black workers who were employed at the end of 1986 were much more likely to be in occupations that paid low weekly wages, which compounded the fact that they had fewer workers in their families. Overall, the median weekly earnings of black married-couple families was $503, compared with $615 for white married-couple families. Black families headed by women had median earnings of only $267 in contrast with earnings of $320 for white female-headed families.

Occupational Distribution of Employed Workers,

December 1986, by Race and Gender

Men

Occupational Group	White	Black	Weekly Wages-Median
Managerial	**26.0%**	**12.9%**	**$608**
Technical	20.9	16.2	$437
Service	**8.7**	**18.3**	**$284**
Precision	20.6	16.1	$418
Operatives	**19.6**	**33.3**	**$332**
Farming	4.1	3.3	$220

Women

Occupational Group	White	Black	Weekly Wages-Median
Managerial	**25.3%**	**17.5%**	**$414**
Technical	46.4	38.3	$282
Service	**16.7**	**28.5**	**$191**
Precision	2.4	2.5	$277
Operatives	**8.2**	**12.9**	**$225**
Farming	1.0	0.3	$187

Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Employment and Earnings, January 1987.*

Still A Long Way To Go

An examination of the current statistics shows that while blacks have benefited from the economic recovery, they still have a long way to go before their labor market status approaches that of whites. Blacks are less likely to be employed, more likely to have part-time jobs when they want full-time employment, and they receive lower wages even when they are employed full-time. Moreover, structural changes in the economy (the types of jobs that are created and the industries in which job growth takes place) may have an adverse effect on many black workers. These issues will be taken up in a future issue of *Focus*. ■

Measure for Measure, Joblessness Still High

Three indicators are used by economists to measure status in the labor market. The most well-known is the unemployment rate, which shows the percentage of people who are unable to find jobs though they are actively seeking employment. A shortcoming of this measure is that it does not count those who are not looking for work.

Another measure is the labor force participation rate, which counts those who are employed or looking for employment. In recent years, black men have had lower rates of labor force participation than white men (72.2 percent versus 76.9 percent, in 1986), while black women have had higher labor force participation rates than those of white women (56.9 percent versus 55.0 percent, in 1986). Many people leave the labor force because they have given up on finding a job. In the fourth quarter of 1986 (October through December), over a million workers had been out of the labor force for about one year. Seventy-five percent of these these out-of-work workers were too discouraged to look for jobs because they felt they could not find them. Blacks, only one-tenth of the labor force, were 26 percent of these discouraged workers.

A third measure is the employment-to-population ratio or the proportion of a particular group that has a job. The box on page 6 shows the year-end employment-to-population ratios for whites and blacks for the past five years, covering the entire recovery period. As can be seen, both whites and blacks increased their rates of job-holding in the past five years. Among males, black youth and adults gained jobs at a more rapid rate than whites and the gap in the employment-to-population ratios fell. Among females, increases in job-holding rates were quite similar for both racial groups. Overall, the black-white employment gap dropped from 9.4 percentage points in 1982 to 7.4 percentage points in December of 1986. Even so, three-quarters of white men had jobs last year compared to only two-thirds of black men. Among teenagers, one-half of whites had jobs while only one-quarter of blacks did.

Welfare to Work

(Continued from p. 5)

below the ninth grade level. *It is estimated that as many as three-quarters of able-bodied, long-term AFDC recipients are functionally illiterate.* If these women are going to actively participate in a changing U.S. labor market, they must have a good basic education that will allow them to adapt to different work environments and learn new skills.

JOB TRAINING AND PLACEMENT. Most of the women who have been receiving welfare for a long period have had little or no contact with the labor market. These women will need job training to be attractive to private employers. *To be economically independent, they must learn skills that allow them to earn more than the minimum wage.* A woman working 40 hours a week for 50 weeks a year would need to earn at least $4.40 an hour to earn more than the poverty level for a family of three.

Most long-term AFDC recipients will also need assistance with job placement. Demonstration projects sponsored by the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation (MDRC) have shown that many of these women are highly motivated and want to work, but simply do not know how to go about finding a job.

SUPPORT SERVICES. Evidence from the Supported Work experiments showed that three problems plagued AFDC recipients in work or training programs: child care, medical care, and transportation costs. *Given the high cost of child care today and the relatively low wages these women will command in the labor market, subsidizing necessary child care costs for some period after employment begins is a necessary part of making work an attractive (or even affordable) alternative to welfare. Extending Medicaid benefits for at least a year after employment begins is also an important component of the transition to work.*

Two other inequities in the current AFDC system, while not directly related to the welfare-to-work initiative, are also in need of reform. First, about half the states allow two-parent families in which both parents are unemployed to receive AFDC. In the other states, only a single parent can receive aid. This rule, at the very least, does not *encourage* the formation and stability of two-parent families, and may in fact *discourage* men from staying with their families during a period of hardship. *Extending the AFDC-Unemployed Parent (AFDC-UP) rule to all states should be a part of any comprehensive reform of the welfare system.*

Second, the amount of financial assistance a family receives is calculated on the basis of "standards of need" which are determined by the states.

Seven states (most of them in the South) have need standards that are less than 50 percent of the federal poverty level. *A common formula for calculating need standards based on local costs of living should be developed and applied across the country.*

The Bottom Line

Although reform of the AFDC system has picked up momentum in the 100th Congress, the commitment of legislators to a comprehensive reform package may be tested by the price tag that will accompany various initiatives. Both the Ford and Kennedy bills (see box) create financial incentives for states to place long-term welfare recipients in permanent jobs. Sponsors of both bills claim that though the legislation will result in an immediate increase in the costs of welfare programs, the long-run impact will be to save public money as former welfare clients become tax-paying employees. However, it is not clear that a fiscally conservative Congress will be willing to increase investments in the public assistance programs when the payoff may not be evident for a number of years. ■

FOCUS

Joint Center for Political Studies

1301 Pa. Ave., N.W., Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20004
(202) 626-3500

NOTICE TO READERS: Please notify FOCUS of any change of address or title. YOU MUST ATTACH THE MAILING LABEL FROM THE BACK COVER when writing about service or change of address. No change can be made without this information. Allow 6 weeks for change of address to take effect. Thank you.

NON-PROFIT
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
PERMIT No. 6958
Washington, D.C.

ADDRESS
CORRECTION
REQUESTED

Postmaster: Form 3547 requested

26063
SRI
ACQUISITIONS EDITOR
CONGRESSIONAL INFO SVC, INC.
4520 EAST-WEST HWY.
BETHESDA, MD 20814